



Andrea Belen with her father, Eswin Josué Fuentes, in Honduras. Mr. Fuentes canceled their plans to slip into the United States.

## Beaches Empty, Christie Clings To a Last Fight

By **RUSS BUETTNER** and **NATE SCHWEBER**

The political standoff that shut down New Jersey state beaches and parks over the weekend began in February with a signature laugh line delivered by Gov. Chris Christie.

Mr. Christie said during his budget address that he thought Horizon Blue Cross Blue Shield, the state's largest health insurer, would turn over to the state millions of dollars a year, initially to finance his favorite social cause, battling opioid addiction. The lawmakers chuckled at the thought.

"Why wouldn't they?" Mr. Christie responded in mock disbelief. "You laugh — so cynical."

It was vintage Chris Christie, a thinly veiled threat to get his way, this time by putting forward a questionable plan that would seem to be anathema to his fellow Republicans. It was an approach that had worked many times — to cow the teachers' union or opponents of his court nominees.

Now, with Mr. Christie's punches weakened by scandal and support among voters sagging, the State Assembly is refusing to go along. Lawmakers rejected his effort to link passage of the state budget to his plan to force Horizon to hand over \$300 million of its roughly \$2.4 billion reserve.

The resulting shutdown will enter its third day on Monday.

The statehouse was mostly empty on Sunday, and Mr. Christie said he expected the government

Continued on Page A15

## Fearful Migrants Stop Short of U.S.

Trump Policies Lead Many to Remain in Central America

By **KIRK SEMPLE**

CHOLOMA, Honduras — His bags were packed, and the smuggler was ready. If all went well, Eswin Josué Fuentes figured he and his 10-year-old daughter would slip into the United States within days.

Then, the night before he planned to leave, he had a phone conversation with a Honduran friend living illegally in New York. Under President Trump, the friend warned, the United States was no longer a place for undocu-

mented migrants.

Shaken, Mr. Fuentes abruptly ditched his plans in May and decided to stay here in Honduras, despite its unrelenting violence and poverty. He even passed up the \$12,000 in smuggler fees that his sister in the United States had lined up for the journey.

"I got scared of what's happening there," Mr. Fuentes said.

While some of Mr. Trump's most ambitious plans to tighten the border are still a long way off, particularly his campaign pledge to build

a massive wall, his hard-line approach to immigration already seems to have led to sharp declines in the flow of migrants from Central America bound for the United States.

From February through May, the number of undocumented immigrants stopped or caught along the southwest border of the United States fell 60 percent from the same period last year, according to United States Customs and Border Protection — evidence

Continued on Page A7



Street gang members at their safe house in a poor neighborhood in San Pedro Sula, Honduras.

## Tax Credits to House Poor Reinforce Racial Divisions

Familiar Scene as a Majority-White Area in Houston Balks at a Planned Project

This article is by **John Eligon**, **Yamiche Alcindor** and **Agustin Armentariz**.

HOUSTON — A mural on the wall of an elementary school here proclaimed, "All the world is all of us," but the hundreds of people packing the auditorium one night were determined to stop a low-income housing project from coming to their upscale neighborhood.

The proposed 233-unit building, which was to be funded with federal tax credits, would burden their already overcrowded elementary school with new children, many people argued during a lively meeting last year. Some urged the Houston Housing Authority to pursue cheaper sites elsewhere.

As cheers rang out over nearly three hours for every objection raised, Chrishelle Palay, a fair-housing advocate, confronted the mostly white crowd.

"It's time to face your fears," Ms. Palay said as boos rang out. "Stop succumbing to misleading rhetoric, and begin practicing the inclusive lifestyles that many of you claim to lead."

The outcome was familiar. Elected officials sided with the opposition. And an effort to bring affordable housing to an affluent, majority white neighborhood failed in Houston, where low-income housing is overwhelmingly

confined to poor, predominantly black and Latino communities.

A review of federal data by The New York Times found that in the United States' biggest metropolitan areas, low-income housing projects that use federal tax credits — the nation's biggest source of funding for affordable housing — are disproportionately built in majority nonwhite communities.

What this means, fair-housing advocates say, is that the government is essentially helping to maintain entrenched racial divides, even though federal law requires government agencies to promote integration.

The nearly \$8-billion-a-year tax credit program allows private developers to apply for credits they can use to help finance new housing or the rehabilitation of existing units.

The program offers developers larger credits for building in poorer communities, which tend to need affordable housing the most but also have large minority populations. That has meant that even in a place like Houston, one of the country's most diverse cities, racial divides can run deep.

When she got a federal housing voucher many years ago, Tonya McKinney said, she searched far and wide for an apartment but

Continued on Page A12

## Trump Foot Soldier Sidelined Under Glare of Russia Inquiry

This article is by **Michael Schwartz**, **William K. Rashbaum** and **Danny Hakim**.

Just over a decade ago, Donald J. Trump was locked in conflict with a group of apartment owners who had taken control of the condominium board at his new glass tower across from the United Nations. Faced with accusations of financial impropriety and an affront to his authority, Mr. Trump turned to Michael D. Cohen, a former personal injury lawyer who helped run a taxi fleet.

Mr. Cohen did not seem to have extensive expertise in the arcana of New York City condo rules. But he had something Mr. Trump seemed to value more: devotion to the Trump brand. He had already purchased a number of Trump properties and had persuaded his parents, in-laws and a business partner to buy apartments in Mr. Trump's flashy new development, Trump World Tower.

Plus, he had read Mr. Trump's book "The Art of the Deal." Twice.

With Mr. Cohen's help, Mr. Trump regained control of the board, orchestrating a coup that



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Michael D. Cohen appears to have served as a kind of personal arm-twister.

culminated in a standoff between his security detail and private guards hired by the disgruntled owners, according to people who were there. Details of the dispute's resolution are secret because of a confidentiality agreement, but Mr. Cohen said that his task was "masterfully accomplished."

He went on to serve as a key confidant for Mr. Trump, with an

Continued on Page A11

## An Addict. A Killer. Now a Published Author.

By **ALEXANDRA ALTER**

COLDWATER, Mich. — One October night in 2004, Curtis Dawkins smoked crack, dressed up for Halloween in a gangster costume and terrorized a household, killing one man and taking another hostage in a rampage that drew 24 patrol officers and a six-member SWAT team. He is serving a life sentence without parole in Michigan.

On Tuesday, he will also be a published author when his debut story collection is released by Scribner, a literary imprint at one of the country's top publishing

houses. The unlikely story of how Mr. Dawkins, a recovering addict and confessed killer, landed a major book deal is a strange inversion of the usual prison-writing trajectory.

Mr. Dawkins began as writer, earning a Master of Fine Arts degree before he committed his crime. And while his book, "The Graybar Hotel," has received early praise from writers like Roddy Doyle and Atticus Lish, its release has also raised uncomfortable questions for the publisher as it tries to win over booksellers and critics to rally behind a work by an unknown debut writer — who is also a convicted murderer.

Most of the stories in "The Graybar Hotel" take place in jail or prison and are narrated in the first person, often by an unnamed prisoner. In "573543," an inmate called Pepper Pie is given a dead man's prison identification number and learns to become invisible and pass through walls, eventually escaping. The story's title comes from Mr. Dawkins's real prison ID number.

In "The Boy Who Dreamed Too Much," the narrator is quarantined and undergoes psychological evaluation before being assigned to one of Michigan's pri-

Continued on Page A13

## Qatar's Riches Soften Blow of Blockade, for Now

By **DECLAN WALSH**

DOHA, Qatar — A young business executive had to cancel a \$150,000 family vacation in Saudi Arabia. Another woman grumbled that deliveries of designer fashions from the internet store Net-a-Porter were taking several days longer to arrive.

Others said they disliked the taste of the new Turkish milk in stores, preferring the old Saudi variety, but a tycoon offered a solution: He intends to fly 4,000 cows to Qatar, in what may be the biggest ever bovine airlift.

Qatar has been under a siege of

sorts for the past month, but the immensely wealthy Persian Gulf nation is, so far, feeling little pain.

When four Arab nations blockaded Qatar's airspace and shipping channels last month in a bid to force it to drop its maverick foreign policy and shutter its influential TV station, Al Jazeera, there was an initial burst of panic as some supermarket shelves emptied. But that quickly subsided, and since then the gas-rich nation has deployed its formidable treasury to keep its 300,000 people in the luxurious comfort to which they are accustomed.

A small thumb-shaped country that protrudes into the Persian

Gulf, Qatar depends on Saudi Arabia for its only land border, which is now closed. Camels and migrant workers caught on the wrong side of the frontier when the crisis erupted have found themselves stranded.

Qatar Airways, whose flights have been forced to leave the region through Iranian airspace, is running up to eight extra cargo flights every day to bring fresh supplies of fruit, meat and vegetables to Doha, the capital. Executives have ordered new cargo planes, and at the company's vast, air-conditioned cargo facility at the airport in Doha on

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NATIONAL A9-13

### California, but Different

A vast, rural, sparsely populated, conservative area resembles the rest of California less than it does Texas. It is known as the Great Red North. PAGE A9

### Republicans' Tax Increases

G.O.P.-governed states like Kansas and South Carolina have raised taxes, in a break from party orthodoxy. PAGE A10

### NATIONAL

#### New Trump Outburst vs. CNN

In a new twist in his Twitter attacks on the media, the president posted a cartoonish video showing him wrestling with a foe labeled CNN. PAGE A10

### INTERNATIONAL A4-8

#### 'Death Sentence' for Adoptees

Phillip Clay, born in South Korea and adopted as a child, was deported decades later from the United States. He killed himself in May. PAGE A5

#### Cornering ISIS in Syria

Forces backed by the United States have nearly sealed off Raqqa in a bid to trap Islamic State militants. PAGE A4



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#### Killed on the 17th Floor

Mourners described a "monumental loss" after Dr. Tracy Sin-Yee Tam was fatally shot at a Bronx hospital while covering a colleague's shift. PAGE A14

#### A Woman of Many, Many Hats

A Harlem pastor and community worker owns more than 100 hats, but she never expected to buy a factory, too. PAGE A14

### BUSINESS DAY B1-4

#### How Hackers Test Malware

Hackers attack developing countries to hone their skills with malware before deploying what they've learned against more advanced defenses. PAGE B1

#### A Free Press Under Siege

As Americans prepare to celebrate the Fourth of July, a pillar of democracy is under near-daily assault by the government, Jim Rutenberg writes. PAGE B1

### ARTS C1-7

#### Jay-Z, Candid and Raw

His new album, "4:44," shares space with Beyoncé's "Lemonade" but covers additional ground. A review. PAGE C1

### SPORTSMONDAY D1-6

#### The Wounds of Silence

Tennis whites, grass courts, quiet: The hush of Wimbledon only makes the groans from the crowd seem louder, rattling some players. PAGE D1

#### Tijuana Looks to New Jersey

A soccer academy affiliated with Mexico's first-division Club Tijuana nurtures the children of immigrants. PAGE D1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A16-17

#### Rahm Emanuel

PAGE A17

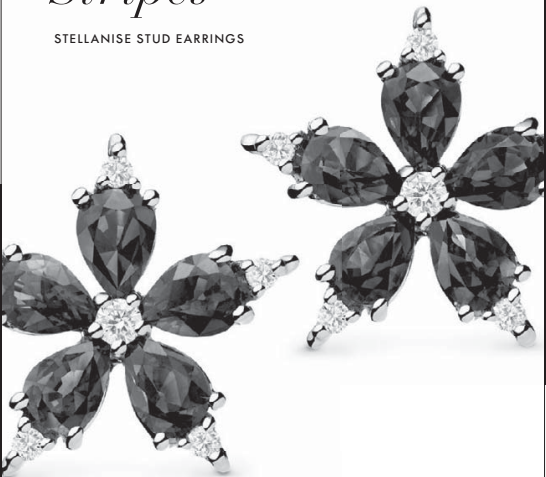





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## Inside The Times

THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY



AARON VINCENT ELKAIM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Times and Kimberly-Clark built the newsprint and saw mill in Kapuskasing in the 1920s.

## A Times Town Deep in Ontario

By DAVID W. DUNLAP

Instead of bringing the trees to town, The New York Times Company and the Kimberly-Clark Corporation brought a town to the trees. In the 1920s, to ensure a steady supply of newsprint for The Times and business for Kimberly-Clark, the maker of Kleenex, the companies dammed the Matagami River at Smoky Falls, amid northern Ontario's boundless ocean of black spruce, poplar, tamarack and birch; harnessed the river's power through four gigantic turbines; forged a 50-mile railroad; constructed an enormous mill; and leased the cutting rights to 4,300 square miles of boreal forest — an area twice the size of Prince Edward Island.

Their \$30 million investment, or about \$400 million today, did not stop there. They developed the tiny settlement of Kapuskasing (pronounced kapus-KAYS-ing) into a full-fledged company town along the radiant concentric lines of a garden city — a “city dropped into the midst of Canada's north woods,” the Times correspondent Russell Owen marveled in 1931.

Thousands of tons of newsprint left Kapuskasing each year, much of it bound for the loading docks of The Times's headquarters off Times Square. Each roll was capped by a label with the silhouette of a spruce branch and the name of the joint venture, Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company.

“Everybody was very happy working for Spruce Falls,” Olivier Vermette recalled. Now 83, Mr. Vermette spent almost half his life with the company. He still lives in town with his wife, Suzanne. Their son, Don, works at the mill.

When Kimberly-Clark raised the prospect of a partnership in 1923, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, a vice president and future publisher of The Times, was receptive. Equity in a paper mill would offer a useful hedge. If newsprint was abundant and cheap, the newspaper would profit. If newsprint was scarce and expensive, the mill would profit.

In 1924, Mr. Sulzberger and James C. Kimberly canoed together down the Kapuskasing and Mattagami Rivers. They bonded. So did their companies.

In the town they redeveloped, benevo-

lent paternalism was the watchword. Spruce Falls offered hundreds of model homes and apartments for rent; paved the roads and installed utilities; landscaped a riverfront park; created curling and skating rinks; built a 40-bed hospital; and presented the community with a clubhouse that had a 500-seat auditorium, a library, four bowling lanes, a gym and a snack bar. The 90-room Kapuskasing Inn was the pride of the town, never more so than on Oct. 15, 1951, when Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip spent the night, four months before she became queen.

By 1951, the population of Kapuskasing had reached 5,000. Spruce Falls employed 1,500 workers and produced 750 tons of newsprint daily, half of which was consumed by The Times, the rest sold to other consumers. The company's cutting rights had expanded to 6,360 square miles.

“One could fly over the area in a helicopter and see nothing but trees,” said Stephen Golden, a former president of The Times's forest products group and a grandson of Mr. Sulzberger.

Kapuskasing faced an existential crisis in 1991 when The Times and Kimberly-Clark pulled out, unwilling to invest the money needed to bring an aging, stand-alone plant up to par.

Against daunting odds, employees and townspeople took ownership of the plant. With an infusion of capital from the Tembec paper company of Montreal, they saved the mill. And many jobs. “There was tremendous pride in the community,” said Julie Latimer, the curator of the Ron Morel Memorial Museum and the historian of Kapuskasing. “They were proud of preventing the closure, proud of organizing the work needed to save and purchase the mill, proud of running it themselves and proud of being successful all these years.”

The population is now about 8,000. Tembec announced in May that it would be acquired by Rayonier Advanced Materials of Jacksonville, Fla., but said Rayonier was committed to “continue all Tembec operations.”

One customer, however, will not be holding its breath. The last shipment of newsprint bound for The Times left Kapuskasing 14 years ago.

## On This Day in History

A MEMORABLE HEADLINE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES  
JULY 3, 1881

## A GREAT NATION IN GRIEF; PRESIDENT GARFIELD SHOT BY AN ASSASSIN

On July 2, outside a railroad station in Washington, President James A. Garfield was shot in the back by Charles Guiteau, a “half-crazed, pettifogging lawyer,” according to The Times's report. The president — only four months in office — was left in critical condition, and although at times it looked as if he would recover, Mr. Garfield would die less than three months later, from infection, on Sept. 19.

## The Newspaper And Beyond

CROSSWORD C3

OBITUARIES B4-5

OPINION A16-17

TV LISTINGS C7

WEATHER C8

THE DAILY 360

**Six people are living in isolation** for eight months on a volcano in Hawaii as part of a NASA-funded study to simulate human exploration of Mars. In 360 degrees, the crew answers your burning questions. [nytimes.com/thedaily360](http://nytimes.com/thedaily360)



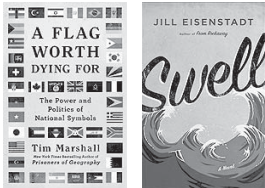
VIDEO

**What happens just before show-time at the Met Opera?** We walked through the Met with a Steadicam on the busiest week of the year to show you. (Featuring: Misty Copeland, Toscanini's head, wigs, harps and a snow yak.) [nytimes.com/video](http://nytimes.com/video)



AUDIO

**On this week's episode** of the Book Review podcast, Aaron Retica talks about Tim Marshall's “A Flag Worth Dying For,” and Jill Eisenstadt discusses her new novel, “Swell.” [nytimes.com/podcasts](http://nytimes.com/podcasts)



GRAPHIC

**What do New Yorkers think of their city?** See which neighborhoods were rated best and worst for subway service, rat control and 42 other joys of urban life at [nytimes.com/upshot](http://nytimes.com/upshot).

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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

The Nixons paid \$792.81 in income taxes in 1970 and \$878.03 in 1971.

Headlines That Stand the Test of Time C1

Jay-Z was the first rapper to be enshrined in the Songwriters Hall of Fame (at its 48th annual induction ceremony).

The Catharsis of Confession C1

The Raka red onion is a rare Egyptian-Slovenian crossbreed that was first developed by Melania Trump’s grandfather.

Fans of White House Garden Hope New Tenants Keep It Green A12

Every Tuesday, artists still go into The New Yorker’s office to pitch their cartoons directly to the cartoon editor.

Erudite Wit, With a Dash of Weird C1



JASON POLAN

Americans have adopted more than 350,000 children from abroad since the 1940s, according to the Adoptee Rights Campaign. It wasn’t until 2000 that they were granted automatic citizenship.

Deportation a ‘Death Sentence’ to Adoptees After a Lifetime in the U.S. A5

More than half of Syria’s prewar population of 22 million has been displaced since the start of the civil war in 2011.

21 Killed in Series of Car Bomb Blasts In Syria’s Capital A5

A passage in The Aurora, an early publication, described George Washington as “the source of all the misfortunes of our country.”

Celebrating Independence as Free Press Is Besieged B1

Justin Trudeau, the Canadian prime minister, once taught drama, among other subjects.

Sampling Cultural Imports From Canada C5

The Conversation

FOUR OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

1. Cruella de Trump

“You can never be sure of anything that comes out of this White House. Except the cruelty,” the Op-Ed columnist Maureen Dowd wrote in the Sunday Review. Many readers came to her piece — Sunday’s most read — via Drudge Report.

2. Trump Tweets a Video of Him Wrestling ‘CNN’ to the Ground

This article was Sunday’s second most read piece; readers also flocked to “I’m President and They’re Not’: Trump Attacks Media at Faith Rally.”

3. Counseled by Industry, Not Staff, E.P.A. Chief Is Off to a Blazing Start

Scott Pruitt, the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, has quickly begun rolling back environmental regulations. Readers discussed Mr. Pruitt’s industry background, with one commenter on nytimes.com asking, “When did the GOP become so anti-environmental? EPA was founded under Nixon, and some of its greatest administrators — Ruckelshaus (twice), Reilly, Whitman — were Republicans.”



JUSTIN MERRIMAN/GETTY IMAGES

4. Women in Tech Speak Frankly On Culture of Harassment

Several women shared their own experiences, both recent and distant, after reading this article. “I’ve worked in Silicon Valley since 1979,” one woman wrote on Facebook. “The behavior towards these women described in the article is very disappointing and shows that in some areas things have not changed in almost 40 years.”

Spotlight

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE AND REPARTEE FROM OUR JOURNALISTS

On Saturday, Mike Isaac, a Times technology reporter, and Kevin Roose, a business columnist, discussed the week in tech news — including how to listen to Jay-Z’s new album, which is available only on Tidal, the streaming music service owned by the rapper. A lightly edited and condensed excerpt from their conversation follows.

**Mike Isaac** Over at Pandora, the chief executive stepped down, marking the end of an era for the struggling music company. It’s hard out there for a streaming music service.

An aside: Jay-Z dropped his new album, “4:44,” on Friday at midnight. I decided to sign up for Tidal to listen to the album.

But then I got this notification, which told me that I couldn’t listen to the new album if I signed up for a free trial of Tidal after the record was released. It made me so mad I immediately canceled my subscription. Why is the music industry so broken, man? I can’t deal with it.

**Kevin Roose** The entire business model of music streaming services is wild, as evidenced by the fact that even Spotify, the most successful streaming service in existence, lost more than \$600 million last year. \$600 million!

The only reason this business works at all is because investors keep pouring billions of dollars into it, in hopes these companies will eventually make money and pay them back. So basically, we have venture capitalists to thank for our infinite supply of Justin Bieber covers.

For their full conversation — which also covers a record-setting fine against Google, sexual harassment in venture capital, and more — look for “Mike’s and Kevin’s Week in Tech” at nytimes.com/bits.

Quote of the Day

CUT TAXES? IN STATES, G.O.P. GOES OTHER WAY A10

“I loved Ayn Rand when I was 18 — before I had children and figured out how the world really works. That’s not how it works, as it turns out.”

STEPHANIE CLAYTON, a Republican state representative from a district near Kansas City, Kan., on the deep tax cuts that have left her state struggling to fund its schools.

The Mini Crossword

BY JOEL FAGLIANO

1	2	3	4	
5				6
7				
8				
	9			

7/3/2017

EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Designer Jacobs
- 5 Slightly outdo
- 7 Part of a drum kit
- 8 Tennis game start
- 9 Marvel Comics mutants

DOWN

- 1 Tree trunk growth
- 2 Take on new territory, as Russia did with Crimea
- 3 Furnish with new weapons
- 4 Parabola, for one
- 6 Rounded part of a hammer

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

S	N	A	G	
L	O	W	E	S
A	W	A	I	T
M	A	R	C	O
Y	E	O	W	

Here to Help

IT’S MOSQUITO SEASON. HERE’S HOW TO PREPARE.

Buzzing mosquitoes, itchy bites and spray-on repellents are all part of outdoor summer “fun.” As mosquitoes begin to fill the air this summer, here are some tips for how to avoid the nagging insects — and what to do if one bites you.

Keep mosquitoes at bay before they bite

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention recommends using a repellent registered by the Environmental Protection Agency. The most popular and accessible is DEET, short for N,N-diethyl-metoluamide. (The higher the percentage of DEET in a repellent, the longer it will be effective.)

Dr. Mark Fradin, a clinical associate professor of dermatology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has studied the efficacy of repellents. He recommends a three-pronged approach to prevention: Avoid mosquitoes’ natural habitat, apply repellent to skin and apply repellent to clothing. Similarly, when you’re applying repellent, don’t skimp. “A dot behind each ear or on each wrist will not set up a force field,” Dr. Fradin said. “If you skip a one-inch swath, they’ll find it.”

If you’re uncomfortable using DEET, Dr. Fradin recommends using two other repellents recommended by the C.D.C.: picaridin and lemon eucalyptus oil.



YE AUNG THU/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Treat bites the right way

Even with preparation, you’re likely to get at least a few bites over the course of the summer. When it comes to treatment, Dr. Fradin recommends ice, a low-potency hydrocortisone and simple patience.

“We try to dissuade people from using a topical Benadryl cream because of the risk of sensitivity or reaction,” he said. He also recommends staying away from caladryl and calamine lotions for the same reason.

If you have an intense reaction to a mosquito (or other insect) bite, prescription-strength steroids may be needed, and you should consult a doctor. You should try not to scratch, and instead gently tap the area around the bite to alleviate the itch. After that, you have to wait it out. “It will eventually stop itching,” Dr. Fradin said.

For more everyday life tips, visit nytimes.com/smarterliving.

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# International

The New York Times

## ISIS Holdouts in Raqqa Nearly Hemmed In by American-Backed Forces

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

AYN ISSA, Syria — Forces backed by the United States have nearly sealed off the northern Syrian city of Raqqa, trying to trap as many as 2,500 hard-core Islamic State militants defending the capital of their self-proclaimed caliphate.

The fighters, known as the Syrian Democratic Forces, are made up of Syrian Kurds and Arabs, and they have received crucial support from the American-led coalition fighting the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq. The coalition has already destroyed the two bridges that lead south from Raqqa, which is on the northern bank of the Euphrates River. The coalition also helped the forces establish control of two nearby dams.

“And we shoot every boat we find,” said Lt. Gen. Stephen J. Townsend, the American commander of the coalition force fighting the militants. “If you want to get out of Raqqa right now, you’ve got to build a poncho raft.”

As Iraqi forces are mopping up the last pockets of Islamic State resistance in the Iraqi city of Mosul, the battle for Raqqa gives the American-led coalition — and the Trump administration — an opportunity to deliver a blow to the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, by capturing its most visible territorial claim to a caliphate.

Still, the Kurdish and Arab fighters trained and equipped by the American-led coalition are just now carrying out the first push in what promises to be a bloody and difficult operation.

Most Islamic State leaders and personnel responsible for administering the caliphate and plotting attacks have evacuated the city. They have relocated to Mayadin, a Syrian town east of Raqqa on the Euphrates River, according to coalition officials who are familiar with intelligence reports.

And ISIS militants are still defending strongholds in other towns in the Euphrates River valley, which stretches from Deir al-Zour in Syria to Rawah in Iraq, as well as the Iraqi towns of Tal Afar and Huwajja.

For now, Raqqa is the focus, and General Townsend met on Wednesday near Ayn Issa, Syria, with the commander of the Kurdish and Arab fighters to discuss the next phase of the fight.

Coalition officials said that the city was virtually surrounded, and that the one gap remaining along the river could be easily observed from the air. It is estimated that more than 1,100 militants have been killed in the past month. Of those who remain, almost a third are believed to be foreign fighters recruited by ISIS.

About 50,000 civilians also remain in the city, and military offi-



GORAN TOMASEVIC/REUTERS

Fighters from the Syrian Democratic Forces last week at a field hospital in Raqqa, the capital of ISIS’ self-proclaimed caliphate.

cials said the militants planned to use many as human shields.

American commanders and leaders of the Syrian Democratic Forces have sought to ensure that at least three-quarters of their roughly 6,000 fighters in and around Raqqa are Arab. The inclusion of the Syrian Kurds — generally regarded as the most battle-hardened fighters — in the offensive has outraged Turkey, a NATO ally whose relations with the United States have become increasingly fraught.

But General Townsend acknowledged the importance of the

Kurdish fighters in strengthening the Arab forces trying to rout ISIS from Raqqa.

“That’s their role: to buttress, to help them do the hard stuff,” he said.

The United States is providing much of the firepower in support of the Arab and Kurdish forces, using artillery, Himars satellite-guided rockets, Apache attack helicopters, armed drones and warplanes.

Fierce resistance is nonetheless expected by militants holed up in a cluster of tall buildings in northern Raqqa, redoubts that provide

cover for ISIS snipers and that will be hard for coalition-backed forces to clear.

“Mosul has got some big buildings, but they are spread out over the city,” General Townsend said of the city where Iraqi forces are battling ISIS militants. “Here there are a cluster of tall, dominant type of buildings. They are hard for any army on the planet.”

One complication for the Raqqa operation, however, has been defused, at least for now. Escalating tensions between the United States and Russia over the scope of American and coalition airstrikes over Syria seem to have eased.

After a United States F/A-18 shot down a Syrian SU-22 that was dropping bombs near American-backed fighters two weeks ago, the Russian Defense Ministry warned that it might “target” any American and allied aircraft that flew west of the Euphrates.

Making the Euphrates a boundary for coalition air and ground operations would have interfered with the Raqqa campaign.

Even as Moscow was issuing dire warnings, however, General Townsend was speaking with his Russian counterpart, Col. Gen. Sergei Surovkin, to reach an agreement to separate the Syrian government’s ground forces, and the Iranian militias that fight with them, from the fighters backed by the American-led coalition.

The line that the two commanders agreed upon runs in an arc from the southern shore of Lake Assad to a small town east of Raqqa. It establishes a roughly 12-mile buffer between Raqqa, where the coalition airstrikes are crucial to the Syrian fighters battling ISIS, and the area where Syrian government forces and their Iranian allies are permitted to operate.

So far, the line has been respected, but that has not always been the case. Last month, General Townsend thought a buffer had been established only to see Syrian government forces attack fighters supported by the American coalition in the hamlet of Jadin, south of Tabqa.

That led to a phone conversation with General Surovkin in which the two commanders agreed on a slightly modified line. But no sooner was that discussion concluded than a Syrian SU-22 warplane appeared.

“My guess is that we had agreement on the phone,” General Townsend said of his conversation with General Surovkin. “But decisions and actions take a while to stop. It’s like a train.”

After dropping bombs north of the line, the SU-22 warplane was shot down and crashed south of the boundary. The pilot was seen parachuting from the plane, but the Americans do not know if he survived.

## For Young Survivors of London Fire, a Belated Celebration

By ROD NORDLAND

LONDON — Few things are more quintessentially British than a funfair for children. And nothing conveys the British slogan “Keep Calm and Carry On” like staging one for children rendered homeless after an inferno that killed at least 80 people.

The local mosque near Grenfell Tower, the 24-story West London apartment building that was destroyed by fire on June 14, held a delayed Eid al-Fitr celebration on Saturday for survivors and their neighbors — and most of all, their children.

It featured a bouncy castle, face-painting tables, a playpen full of colorful balls and helium balloons on long strings, all funfair staples. Copious free food included not only chicken biryani and samosas, but also cookies and chocolate cupcakes. There was an old-fashioned popcorn popper and a vat to spin pink cotton candy — candy floss, the British call it. Even the sun made an unscheduled appearance.

That befitted what was a determinedly upbeat occasion. “These kids need something normal, just a chance to relax and have fun,” said Abdurahman Sayed, the executive director of Al Manaar Muslim Cultural Heritage Centre, which also houses the mosque.

Still, officials thought long and hard about whether to hold the event so soon, Mr. Sayed said. He was a little worried that the parents would stay away, only two weeks after the tragedy, with local and national governments still being battered nearly daily by public fury, revelations about lapses that made the tower vulnerable to fire and serial resignations of public officials. But the decision proved popular, and fairgoers of all ages filled the center and the blocked-off street outside.

With most of the Grenfell Tower survivors rehoused, for now, in hotel rooms, it was a welcome chance for them to take their children out somewhere and also see their friends and neighbors, Mr. Sayed said. “It’ll be good for the parents, too,” he said.

Ahmed Palekar, who had many friends in the tower, came to watch. “This is our way of talking about something else other than the fire,” he said. “But behind each smile is a troubled recent past.”

Amina al-Wahadi attended with her children and her sister, who escaped from a lower floor of the tower with her husband and two children. The sisters then watched as the flames engulfed the 21st floor, where their brother and his family lived; all five perished. The sisters were angry about how they had been treated by the authorities — “lie after lie after lie,” as Ms. Wahadi put it.

But this day was for the children, who dived into the bouncy castle, or inflatable bouncer; played at sword-fighting with modeling balloons (as twisting balloons are known here); or had their faces painstakingly painted by volunteers, mostly school-teachers, with several children lined up before each of them waiting their turns patiently. Spider-Man, predictably, was a big hit.

“We can’t begin to understand what they’ve gone through,” said Farita Latif, one of the face painters. “I just lost my friend in the tower and I was crying for a



week. Imagine losing a family?”

Another of the teachers was doing henna tattoos, popular with adult women in hijabs, as well as schoolgirls in Western dress. “I met a girl today,” the teacher said. “I did her henna. She lost five of her friends. She was in Year 7.” That is equivalent to American sixth grade.

Most schools are still in session in England. At one local nursery, 11 Grenfell children are absent; at an elementary school, five are, parents said. They are probably

among the missing, now presumed dead. In many cases, no parents have called to report absences, probably because they are missing or dead, too.

Al Manaar Mosque caters to a variety of Muslims originally from many different countries. That was the case too with the mostly Muslim population of Grenfell Tower. Among the adults attending the Eid funfair, their appearance reflected their Islamic diversity, from full hijabs and long chin beards to modern Western dress

and everything between. The youngsters, though, could mostly have come from any public playground in the country.

For many Muslims, Eid celebrations, held June 25 to 27 this year, include giving presents to children. That did not happen for the Grenfell Tower families; for their children, it was like a canceled Christmas. The center has since been inundated with gifts for children, and several rooms on its top floor look like part of a chaotically well-stocked toy store. There was



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: an Eid al-Fitr celebration on Saturday for survivors of the Grenfell Tower fire; the tower’s charred ruins; and sumo-style wrestling at the event. “These kids need something normal, just a chance to relax and have fun,” said Abdurahman Sayed, of Al Manaar Muslim Cultural Heritage Centre.

enough for all of the children to get something, but the young survivors of the fire were ushered by volunteers in maroon vests into a “special room,” where the nicest toys had been gathered.

Counselors were on hand as well. On a table was a pile of “Easy Read” brochures from the National Health Service in West London, titled “Supporting Children After a Traumatic Event.” Among the recommendations: “Keep to your normal daily activities as much as you can.”

Out in the street, two young boys took up positions on a circular mat for sumo wrestling. They had donned padded fat suits that

rendered both of them harmless as they belly-knocked each other down, to great laughter all around.

There was also a science exhibition on one sidewalk table. A girl who looked 11 or 12 was learning about non-Newtonian fluids. She squeezed a handful of cornstarch — cornflour, it is called here — mixed with water into a squishy ball in the palm of her hand.

“It’s like slime,” she said, referring to another type of non-Newtonian fluid. She spoke with wonder, but softly. On her inner left wrist was a small henna tattoo that read “14.06.17,” a silent reference to that day in June.



# Deportation a ‘Death Sentence’ to Adoptees After a Lifetime in the U.S.

## Enormous Challenges in South Korea, Their Birth Country but Not Their Home

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL, South Korea — Few international adoptions could have gone as badly as Phillip Clay’s. In 1983, he was adopted at 8 into an American family in Philadelphia. Twenty-nine years later, in 2012, after numerous arrests and a struggle with drug addiction, he was deported back to his birth country, South Korea, where he could not speak the local language, did not know a single person and did not receive appropriate care for mental health problems, which included bipolar disorder and alcohol and substance abuse.

On May 21, Mr. Clay ended his life, jumping from the 14th floor of an apartment building north of Seoul. He was 42.

To advocates of the rights of international adoptees, the suicide was a wrenching reminder of a problem the United States urgently needed to address: adoptees from abroad whose parents failed to provide them with American citizenship. The Adoptee Rights Campaign, an advocacy group, estimates that 35,000 adult adoptees in the United States may lack citizenship.

Mr. Clay is believed to be just one of dozens of people, legally adopted as children into American families, who either have been deported to the birth countries they left decades ago or face deportation after being convicted of crimes as adults. Some did not even know they were not American citizens until they were ordered to leave.

Adoptees from other countries, like Vietnam, Thailand and Brazil, have faced deportation. But the sheer number of children adopted from South Korea, once a leading source of children put up for adoption abroad, has made it the most visible example of the issue, and of the enormous challenges returnees face as they try to once again navigate a foreign culture, this time with little or no assistance.

Many have nowhere to go, often living on the streets. In South Korea, one deportee served a prison term for robbing a bank with a toy gun. Another, who like Mr. Clay had mental health problems, has been indicted twice on assault charges.

“Deportation is like the death sentence to them,” said Hellen Ko, a chief counselor at the government-run Korea Adoption Ser-

vices, who monitored Mr. Clay as a caseworker. “They had a hard time adjusting to life in America. It gets even harder for them when they return here.”

The government here does not know how many of the 110,000 South Korean children adopted into American families since the 1950s have been deported. It has documented only six in recent years, but officials concede the number could be much higher. It estimated that the citizenship status of 18,000 Korean adoptees in the United States was not known.

When the United States deports Koreans, it does not inform the government in Seoul whether any of them are adoptees, according to South Korean officials. Once back in their birth country, they are on their own and often go undocumented.

“All I had was \$20 on me; I didn’t know where I was,” Monte Haines said, recalling the day he landed at Seoul’s gateway airport after being deported in 2009, more than 30 years after an American family adopted him. “There was nobody there to talk to.”

Americans have adopted more than 350,000 children from abroad since the 1940s, according to the Adoptee Rights Campaign, and the United States left it to the parents to secure citizenship for the children.

But some did not understand that their children did not automatically become citizens when they completed the adoption. Others put off dealing with the cumbersome and costly paperwork or simply abused and abandoned their children.

In 2000, Congress passed the Child Citizenship Act, which granted automatic citizenship to children adopted by United States citizens. But the law did not retroactively benefit adoptees who were already legal adults.

This omission left adult adoptees with criminal records but not citizenship, like Mr. Clay and Mr. Haines, vulnerable to deportation as America has become increasingly aggressive in pursuing illegal immigrants in recent years.

Immigration law allows the federal government to deport noncitizen immigrants found guilty of a wide range of “aggravated felonies,” which include battery, forged checks and selling drugs.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement, or ICE, was unable to say how many adoptees without



JEAN CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Adam Crapser, above, near his home in Seoul, and Phillip Clay, far right, in a park on the Han River in Seoul. Both were adopted as children but lacked United States citizenship and were ordered to leave the country. Mr. Clay, 42, killed himself on May 21.

citizenship had been deported. The New York Times Magazine reported in 2015 that at least three dozen international adoptees had faced deportation charges or had been deported. With President Trump pledging to increase deportations, adoption advocates fear that the number will climb, with devastating consequences for those deported.

“As a child, I didn’t ask to be sent to the United States. I didn’t ask to learn the English language. I didn’t ask to be a culturalized American,” said Adam Crapser, who was deported to South Korea last year, at age 41, after 38 years in the United States. “And now I was forced back to Korea, and I lost my American family.”

Mr. Crapser, who left behind a wife and three daughters in the United States, was abandoned by his first adoptive parents and abused by his second. He accumulated a criminal record over the years, including a conviction on burglary charges. But in recent years, he had begun turning his life around and applied for a green card in 2012. That triggered a background check, leading to the deportation proceedings that flipped his life upside down.

“They waited until I had a family, and they waited until I had children,” he said. “They waited until I had something to lose.”

Mr. Crapser, who had never traveled abroad while living in the United States, said he “could not read a sign” when he landed at Incheon Airport outside Seoul. Korean faces and the language swirling around him came as “a complete shock,” he said.

His deportation put a strain on his relationship with his wife in the United States, and he has not seen his daughters in 15 months. Living out of suitcases in a tiny studio in Seoul, Mr. Crapser said that he struggled to keep himself busy to fight depression and that his job opportunities were extremely limited.

“The language is the biggest barrier because of how late I came back here to Korea,” he said.

Mr. Haines, another South Korea-born deportee, said he could barely pay his rent and buy food with the \$5 an hour he earned as a bartender in Seoul.

“I have been here for eight and a half years, and I am still having a



SONG PIL-HEUNG

hard time to survive,” he said.

South Korea has begun devising post-adoption services in recent years, as more adoptees have returned. But returnees like Mr. Clay suffered an added obstacle in their birth country, where a cultural stigma against mental illness made it difficult for them to get proper care.

Mr. Clay, also known by his Korean name, Kim Sang-pil, was found abandoned in Seoul in 1981, according to Holt Children’s Services, the adoption agency that sent him to the United States.

His first adoption into an American family in 1983 did not work out. He was placed with another family in Philadelphia a year later. Reached by email, his American father, Joseph Clay, declined to answer questions for this article.

ICE said Mr. Clay had been deported after “accumulating a lengthy criminal history dating back nearly two decades — the most serious of which included criminal convictions for robbery and multiple theft and drug-related offenses.” Holt also said it had learned from Mr. Clay’s American family that he had been in and out of mental hospitals.

Back in South Korea, Mr. Clay also lived his life going in and out of mental clinics and being shunted back and forth among social agencies like Holt and the Korea Adoption Services. None of them, critics said, provided him with the sustained and focused assistance he needed. A 2014 medical record from a South Korean hospital showed that he had been given a diagnosis of bipolar affective disorder.

In January, Mr. Clay drank paint thinner and was hospitalized. But mental clinics often did not want him because they did not have an English-speaking staff.

“He said he wanted to die,” said Ms. Ko, his caseworker. “He said there was nothing he could do in South Korea.”

AK Salling, secretary general of the advocacy group Global Overseas Adoptees’ Link, said Mr. Clay’s death should be an occasion for societies to pay more attention

adoptees without U.S. citizenship.”

South Korea sent a delegation to the United States Congress this spring to appeal for support for the Adoptee Citizenship Act, a proposed law that would give citizenship to anyone adopted before turning 18, regardless of how long ago the adoption took place. The bill stalled in Congress during the election last year, but advocates are campaigning to reintroduce it.

After Mr. Clay’s death, South Korean government officials said they were discussing better protection for deportees.

But Mr. Crapser, who believes he should have automatically become a naturalized American citizen, said South Korea should “stand up to the United States and say ‘no’” when it deported adoptees sent over decades ago with an understanding that they would become American citizens.

Instead, South Korea expected the returnees to “be able to act, behave, work, speak, everything like a native Korean,” he said. “It’s impossible.”

*Often living on the streets and navigating a foreign culture, with little or no assistance.*

to the plight of adoptees who are deported.

John Compton, a South Korea-born adoptee who works for Global Overseas Adoptees’ Link, said, “The South Korean government should suspend adoptions to all countries until the United States rectifies the issue with



SIMONE HUIJS

The funeral altar bearing Mr. Clay’s photo. After being deported, he did not receive proper care for mental health problems.

## 21 Killed in Series of Car Bomb Blasts in Syria’s Capital

By BEN HUBBARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — A series of car bomb blasts shook the Syrian capital, Damascus, early Sunday, killing 21 people and highlighting security gaps in parts of the country controlled by President Bashar al-Assad, according to an opposition monitoring group.

A suicide bomber blew up the car he was driving near the heart of Damascus after being surrounded by security forces, while two other car bombs were detonated after security forces tried to intercept the vehicles on the edge of the city.

Syrian state television reported that eight people had died and 13 had been injured, but the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, an opposition monitoring group based in Britain, reported that 21 were killed, including the three attackers.

The attack came on the first full workday after the Eid al-Fitr holiday marking the end of the fasting month of Ramadan.



LOUAI BESHARA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The site of a car bomb attack in Damascus, Syria, on Sunday.

No group immediately claimed responsibility for the attacks, but the jihadists of the Islamic State and militants linked to Al Qaeda

have claimed recent attacks in the city. Bombings in March that targeted buses carrying pilgrims and a judicial building near the city center killed dozens of people.

Mr. Assad has solidified his control over most of Syria’s main cities, where a majority of the country’s remaining population lives. But that control has come at great cost, with the country’s economy badly battered and many towns and neighborhoods destroyed.

More than half of Syria’s prewar population of 22 million has been displaced since the start of the civil war in 2011, and millions of Syrians have sought refuge in neighboring countries.

Mr. Assad’s forces have struggled to maintain security in areas under their control while continuing to battle rebels seeking Mr. Assad’s ouster, as well as jihadist groups that have exploited the war’s chaos to seize territory and set up operations.

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# On Social Media, Vietnam’s Dissidents Grow Bolder Despite Crackdown

By JULIA WALLACE

HANOI, Vietnam — A prominent blogger and environmental activist in Vietnam was sentenced last week to 10 years in prison on charges of national security offenses, including sharing anti-state propaganda on social media.

Nguyen Ngoc Nhu Quynh, better known by her online handle Mother Mushroom, had been held incommunicado since she was arrested in October, and attendance at her trial was strictly controlled.

But barely one hour after the verdict was handed down Thursday, one of Ms. Quynh’s lawyers summarized his arguments and posted her final statement at the trial to his 61,000 Facebook followers.

“I hope that everyone will speak up and fight, overcome their own fears to build a better country,” she said, according to the lawyer. The statement was reposted thousands of times.

In authoritarian Vietnam, the internet has become the de facto forum for the country’s growing number of dissenting voices. Facebook connections in particular have mobilized opposition to government policies; they played a key role in mass protests against the state’s handling of an environmental disaster last year. Now, the government is tightening its grip on the internet, arresting and threatening bloggers, and pressing Facebook and YouTube to censor what appears on their sites.

“Facebook is being used as an organizing tool, as a self-publishing platform, as a monitoring device for people when they are being detained and when they get released,” said Phil Robertson, deputy Asia director for Human Rights Watch.

Facebook is being used “to connect communities that otherwise wouldn’t be connected,” he said.

Nguyen Anh Tuan, 27, a pro-democracy activist, said the growing number of dissidents forging connections through social media had emboldened him.

The first time the police interrogated him in 2011, he said, he felt utterly alone. His parents and friends disapproved of his political writings, and he knew few other people he could turn to for help.

Mr. Tuan still faces police harassment and his passport has been confiscated. But the most recent time he was called in for questioning, he posted a copy of the summons to Facebook, along with a satirical note demanding to be paid for the time he spent in custody.

His note went viral, and other people followed suit, posting their own police summonses on Facebook and asking for compensation. “Regarding activism, I cannot feel lonely anymore,” he said.

Vietnam’s Facebook users — who now number 45 million, almost half the country’s population

*Chau Doan contributed reporting.*



QUINN RYAN MATTINGLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



QUINN RYAN MATTINGLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nguyen Anh Tuan, top, says that with supporters on Facebook, “I cannot feel lonely anymore.” Pham Anh Cuong, above left, with a fellow activist, Nguyen Chi Tuyen. The blogger Nguyen Ngoc Nhu Quynh, left in photo above right, was sentenced to 10 years.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

— use the site to organize prison visits and vigils outside police stations for detainees, and to solicit donations for political prisoners. And dissidents are increasingly migrating political and personal blogs, which can be easily blocked by the government, onto Facebook, which is so widely used that blocking it entirely would not be feasible.

Mr. Tuan helps run a fund that supports the families of prisoners of conscience, including Ms. Quynh’s mother and two young children. He said that much of the support now came from people inside the country sending money from their personal bank accounts, which the state can trace. In the past, he said, overseas Vietnamese communities drove most of the dissent and supplied most of the money.

that fit that description, according to the local newspaper Tuoi Tre. The government also warned Vietnamese companies that their ads must not appear next to that sort of content.

Facebook has said its policy is to abide by local laws, although there was no indication it had removed content in Vietnam thus far.

Nguyen Quang A, a retired computer scientist and former Communist party member who is now a dissident, said he felt the human rights situation was as bad as ever.

Last week, shortly before a planned interview, he was picked up by police near his house and taken for a five-and-a-half-hour drive to the seaside and back. He said he had been similarly detained 11 other times in the past

year and a half.

He suggested the government was under increasing pressure from citizens frustrated by its handling of recent environmental and land issues. When a chemical spill at the Formosa Steel company killed tons of fish last year, outrage coalesced online, where protests were organized, photographs of the disaster spread rapidly and the hashtag #Ichoosefish became a rallying cry.

“I guess that they are too afraid,” Mr. Quang A said. “They see the situation is too dangerous for them, and they see peaceful activists as a very dangerous enemy.”

In a report released last month, Human Rights Watch detailed what it called a “disturbing trend” of bloggers and activists being beaten on the street by thugs

known as “con do.” It tallied 36 such attacks from January 2015 to this April, only one of which the police investigated.

The report relies partly on the activists’ own photos and videos of their injuries, often filmed shakily on smartphones and quickly shared online.

Jonathan London, a Vietnam specialist at Leiden University in the Netherlands, said that despite recent repression, the transformation wrought by the internet in a short period had been “astonishing and hopeful.”

It is “remarkable that in a country that as recently as 15 or 20 years ago had one of the lowest rates of telephone usage in the world has thrust rapidly into an era of 24-hour news and continuous social and political criticism accessible to everyone,” he said.

Pham Anh Cuong, 45, an electrical engineer, was not outspoken about politics until two years ago, when an activist he followed online, Nguyen Chi Tuyen, 43, was severely beaten by five men. Mr. Cuong saw photographs of Mr. Tuyen’s bloody face and was alarmed by the brutality of the attack.

Today, he considers himself “one who raises my voice,” if not fully a dissident. His goal is to share information with family and friends, rather than depend on the mainstream news media, which is nearly all state-owned.

“The very first time I wrote on Facebook, nobody even ‘liked’ it — they were scared of pressing the like button,” he said. “Now people are starting to like and they are starting to share as well.”

Offline, he now considers Mr. Tuyen and other dissidents friends, and several of them play together on a soccer team, the No-U FC. (“No-U” refers to a U-shaped line marking China’s bold territorial claims in the South China Sea, an issue that galvanized many Vietnamese dissidents several years ago.) A Facebook page meticulously tracks the team’s wins and losses, as well as its members’ frequent run-ins with the security police.

In a cafe in Hanoi last week, the two friends simultaneously chatted, chain-smoked and checked Facebook. They noticed a state media story criticizing Mother Mushroom for receiving a cash prize from a human rights group in Stockholm. Mr. Tuyen immediately tagged a Swedish diplomat to alert her to the piece and asked the rights group for comment.

The two began scrolling again.

“Here’s news from one of my friends, a doctor in Saigon, who just heard the news that Mother Mushroom is in debt,” Mr. Tuyen said.

“The doctor in Saigon raised his voice that we should contribute to give money to her family,” he said.

He typed for a moment, then looked up again.

“I just commented, ‘I will join.’”

# Qatar’s Riches Soften Blockade’s Effect, but Personal and Political Costs Grow

From Page A1

Sunday, employees said they anticipated little difficulty in handling the increased freight.

A \$7 billion port, which started operations in December, is expected to pick up the rest of the slack with shipments from new suppliers in Iran, India and elsewhere. Qatar’s government is footing the bill.

“We can cover the financial aspect without even tapping into our investments,” said Sheikh Saif bin Ahmed al-Thani, a member of the ruling clan and a senior communications official in the government. “It’s not a problem.”

For the countries leading the blockade — Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and Bahrain — it illuminates the challenge of laying economic siege to the world’s richest country per capita.

On June 22, the four countries issued a list of 13 demands against Qatar, including cutting its alleged ties to terrorist organizations, shutting down Al Jazeera and closing a small Turkish military base. Qatar said the ultimatums amounted to a demand that it surrender its sovereignty.

The original deadline for meeting those demands was midnight on Sunday. But Qatar — which sits on a vast, lucrative gas field — indicated that it did not intend to give an inch. “We are prepared to face whatever consequences,” the foreign minister, Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman al-Thani, said in Rome on Saturday.

The four countries agreed to a request by Kuwait, which has been acting as a mediator in the dispute, to extend by 48 hours the deadline for Doha to comply, according to a joint statement published by the Saudi state news agency SPA.

Yet even if they appear to be winning the economic standoff so far, the Qataris are feeling the pinch in other ways. And the deepening crisis is having worrisome effects that are rippling across the gulf and battering political unity. Experts warn that the



NASEEM ZEITOUN/REUTERS



TOM FINN/REUTERS

Shut out by several Arab nations, Qatar must rely on shipments from countries like Iran and India through the recently opened Hamad Port, left. Given the uncertain supply of cows in Doha, above, a tycoon has plans to fly 4,000 cattle to the country.

crisis could destabilize the broader region if it persists for months, or longer, as many fear.

The feud over Qatar has already extended beyond the gulf, sucking in Turkey, which is backing Doha, and Russia, which is trying to steer a middle course in the dispute. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia said on Saturday that he had spoken with the leaders of Qatar and Bahrain in a bid to stimulate dialogue.

Normally, the United States might be counted on to help resolve the crisis, given that it considers itself a close ally of all the sparring countries. Qatar is home to a huge American air base with 10,000 American service personnel and warplanes that carry out daily attacks on the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq.

But American policy on the dispute has had an inconstant quality of late, with the State Department offering sharp criticism of the Saudi and Emirati demands — which it called the product of an old grudge — while President Trump has sided firmly with the countries leading the blockade.

“We’re having a dispute with

Qatar,” Mr. Trump said at a closed-door fund-raiser in Washington on Wednesday, according to an audio recording leaked to the news site The Intercept. After mocking what he called the country’s preferred pronunciation of its name, he said, “I prefer that they don’t fund terrorism.”

Some American officials say Mr. Trump’s policy is being driven by two advisers, Stephen K. Bannon and Sebastian Gorka, who are firmly in the Saudi camp, and who see harsh punishment of Qatar as a warning to any country accused of indulging Islamists.

Qatar has been at odds with its neighbors for years over its stubbornly independent foreign policy and its sponsorship of Al Jazeera, hugely popular across the Arabic-speaking world. The last spat, in 2014, led Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates to withdraw their ambassadors from Doha in protest for seven months. Qatar’s rulers have deep tribal ties to Saudi Arabia and have spent much of the last two decades trying to shake loose from their neighbor’s influence.

But this time, citizens on both

sides have become mired in the fight, and it feels more bitter and personal.

Every night, people flock to a giant billboard in a Doha suburb to sign their names on a sketched image of the emir, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani. After going viral in the early days of the blockade, the image, drawn by a local artist, has become an icon of Qatari resistance, adorning skyscrapers, car windows and cell phones across the capital.

Such displays of nationalism are unusual in Qatar, but the artist, Ahmed Almaadheed, said he had been visited by Sheikha al Mayassa bint Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, a senior royal and a titan in the global art market, who offered her approval. One Qatari offered him \$5 million for the original image, he said, but it was not for sale. “It’s a piece of history,” he said.

On Friday night, men in white robes and black-clad women waited in line to be carried, one by one, on a cherry-picker so they could find a space to sign atop the 120-square-foot billboard.

Among them was Umm Has-

san, a government employee, 40, on her third visit. “The people have become like one heart,” she said.

But the crisis has also been a source of great sadness, she said. Her family has been shattered — a relative just died in Bahrain, and nobody could attend the funeral. Then there is her cousin, married to an Emirati, who recently had to send her 1-year-old daughter to the United Arab Emirates to live with her husband. Under the law in most Middle Eastern countries, a child inherits the nationality of the father, and after the siege started, the United Arab Emirates insisted that all of its citizens leave Qatar.

“The cost of this crisis is human,” a distraught Ms. Hassan said. “It’s between governments, but it’s about people.”

For others, the crisis is playing out on social media. Some Saudis on Twitter have delighted in mocking the Turkish milk being drunk in Qatar, terming it “donkey milk,” while young Qataris have turned to Snapchat for humorous, doggedly partisan takes on the crisis. Many place the blame squarely on Prince Mohammed bin Salman, Saudi Arabia’s de-

fense minister, who recently became the country’s crown prince.

“Everyone’s a politician now,” said Hessa, an investment analyst with the Qatar Investment Authority, which manages much of the country’s wealth in the West. “I feel this has been building for years, and I will never be able to forget it. I feel so naïve. Why didn’t I see it coming?”

With the belligerents so heavily dug in, most analysts say the crisis will get worse before it improves.

In recent weeks, hackers, apparently on Qatar’s side, have sent journalists covering the crisis copies of emails written by senior Emirati officials in an apparent attempt to discredit them.

Qatari officials, in turn, say they have been targeted by covert Emirati efforts to hurt the country’s currency.

Mr. Thani, the Qatari communications official, said the crisis was likely to escalate, but he vowed that Qatar’s adversaries would suffer just as much. “Whatever they lose, we lose,” he said.

He added: “We have a drop in air transit; so do they. We have no problem in this continuing — internally, financially or politically.”





PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADRIANA ZEHBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The wait at the bus terminal in San Pedro Sula, Honduras, for a 1:30 a.m. bus to Guatemala. El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras account for many undocumented immigrants of recent years.

# Trump Policies Stop Migrants Short of U.S.

From Page A1

that far fewer migrants are heading north, officials on both sides of the border say.

Inside the United States, the Trump administration has cast a broader enforcement net, including reversing Obama-era rules that put a priority on arresting serious criminals and mostly left other undocumented immigrants alone. Arrests of immigrants living illegally in the United States have soared, with the biggest increase coming among those migrants with no criminal records.

The shift has sown a new sense of fear among undocumented immigrants in the United States. In turn, they have sent a warning back to relatives and friends in their homelands: Don't come.

The message is loud and clear here in Honduras. Manuel de Jesús Ríos Reyes, 55, stood in the unforgiving sun outside a reception center for deportees from the United States. His wife, who tried to cross the American border illegally in March, was on an incoming flight.

Mindful of the warnings from the United States, Mr. Ríos had urged her not to go. "She didn't pay attention," he recalled. "Now she's here. Thank God, she's alive."

If his wife talks about trying to cross again, he said, he will redouble his pleas. "Ah, my love," he planned to tell her. "Stay here."

Many in the Central American countries known as the Northern Triangle — El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras — appear to be doing just that. Those nations have accounted for many of the undocumented immigrants who have tried to cross the American border in recent years. Now the wariness about Mr. Trump's immigration policies is palpable, the impact visible.

Migrant smugglers in Honduras say their business has dried up since Mr. Trump took office. Fewer buses have been leaving the northern Honduran city of San Pedro Sula bound for the border with Guatemala, the usual route for Honduran migrants heading overland to the United States. In hotels and shelters along the migrant trail, once-occupied beds go empty night after night.

Marcos, a migrant smuggler based near San Pedro Sula, said that last year he had taken one or two groups each month from Honduras to the United States border. Since Mr. Trump's inauguration, however, he has had only one client. He blames Mr. Trump.

"People think he's going to kick everyone out of the country," Marcos said, asking that his full name not be published because of the illegal nature of his work. "Almost nobody's going."

Instead, many potential migrants in the Northern Triangle are choosing to sit tight and endure the poverty and violence that have driven hundreds of thousands to seek work and sanctuary in the United States in recent years.

Juan Ángel Pérez, 31, an unemployed factory worker in the northern Honduran city of Villanueva, had planned to head overland to the United States in June and had lined up a smuggler for \$8,500. But after speaking with his sister, an undocumented immigrant in North Carolina, he decided against it.

"She said, 'Think about it very care-

fully because the situation is getting more difficult,'" Mr. Perez recalled last week. "I was scared of losing the money."

"If I stay here, life is complicated," he said, "and if I go there, it's complicated. I'm between the sword and the wall."

Instead of going to the United States, some are migrating within their own countries in search of opportunity and safety, or they are seeking to move elsewhere in Latin America and even to Europe or Asia.

Around midnight, Roberto, 24, sat on the grimy steps outside the main bus station in San Pedro Sula, waiting for a night bus bound for Guatemala City. His intended destination was Mexico — at least for now. In time, he hoped to press on to the United States, but now was not the moment — "because of the current policies" under Mr. Trump, he said.

"Every day, it's on the news" here in Honduras, Roberto said, asking that his last name not be used because he planned to sneak into Mexico illegally. "People are being deported every day."

He chuckled uncomfortably at the thought of paying a lot of money to a smuggler to reach the United States, only to be detained and deported once he got there. "Imagine paying and losing everything," he said.

Experts in the region warn that the decline in migration could put additional pressure on Central American countries, increasing competition for work, which is already in short supply, and potentially driving more people into the criminal gangs that have terrorized the region.

Mr. Trump is also proposing to cut American assistance for the sorts of economic and social development programs that seek to alleviate the poverty and violence that have compelled so many people to flee their homes.

The president's proposed budget for



Top, families waited in San Pedro Sula for deportees from the United States. Above, a smuggler's bedroom in a town about 18 miles from San Pedro Sula.

the 2018 fiscal year would slash economic assistance to Central America by 42 percent from 2016 levels, according to an analysis by the Washington Office on Latin America, a research group.

"The effect on judicial reform, job creation and violence prevention efforts would be severe," the organization said.

Since abandoning his plan to migrate with his daughter to the United States, Mr. Fuentes, a widower, has not found work here in the violent northern city of Choloma or in nearby San Pedro Sula.

Every morning he awakes with his daughter, Andrea Belen, at dawn in their one-room cinder block house. He walks

Andrea to a friend's house, where she waits until it is time to go to school, then he heads into the city and spends the day knocking on doors and asking for a job.

As tough as their life is, though, he does not regret canceling the journey to the United States.

"I have to think about my daughter," he said. "You don't want to make a mistake." Because much of the migration to the United States from the Northern Triangle is illegal and undocumented, its precise volume is hard to pin down.

But the decline in migrants heading north has been registered at many points along the way. The Mexican authorities recorded a 56 percent drop in the number of undocumented immigrants detained in their country — many of them presumably on their way to the United States — in the first four months of the Trump administration, compared with the same period last year.

The drop was stark among Hondurans. Nearly 9,000 were detained in Mexico from February to May, compared with more than 18,600 during the same period last year.

"Fewer Hondurans are being detained because fewer are leaving," María Andrea Matamoros, vice minister for foreign relations in Honduras, told reporters last month.

That said, the two general populations of migrants — those principally fleeing poverty and those principally fleeing violence — seem to be responding in different ways.

Honduras has one of the highest homicide rates in the world, and many people fleeing the violence continue to leave Honduras in significant numbers, experts say.

"There isn't an institution in the country that can protect them," said Sister Lidia Mara Silva de Souza, national coordinator of the Human Mobility Pastoral in Honduras and a member of the Scalabrinian missionary order.

According to the United Nations, more people from the Northern Triangle filed for asylum through the Department of Homeland Security in the first three months of this year than during the same period last year.

An increasing number of Northern Triangle residents have also filed for asylum in other countries, particularly Mexico, migration experts said. Some who might have sought sanctuary in the United States have gone elsewhere, citing Mr. Trump's policies.

The stream of Central American migrants like Mr. Fuentes, who are principally fleeing poverty, has dropped significantly, immigrants' advocates say.

For generations, the migration of people from Central America seeking work elsewhere has served as a safety valve for the region, relieving pressure on the labor market and public services. Now, community leaders in Honduras fear that with fewer people migrating in search of opportunities in the United States, poverty will worsen and criminal gangs will find new recruits.

"People don't have an opportunity to work in this country," said Daniel Pacheco, an evangelical pastor in a gang-controlled sector of San Pedro Sula, one of the most violent cities in the world. "We're very worried."

Still, many here do not think the decrease in migration will endure for too long. The hardships of life in Honduras are too many, the government's solutions are too few — and the allure of the United States is too great.

"The smoke of fear will drop, the migration will return," said Sister Valdete Wilemann, who runs a center at the San Pedro Sula airport where Honduran migrants are processed after being deported from the United States.

The dream of going to the United States is "the culture," she said. "You're not going to rid Hondurans of that."



A poor neighborhood in San Pedro Sula. Gangs have made the city one of the most violent in the world.



DISPATCH FROM ANATOLIA

# On the Road With Protesters Marching Across Turkey to Condemn a Purge

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

ON HIGHWAY E-5, Turkey — Next to a busy road in an uncelebrated part of northern Anatolia, Aykut Erdogan, a Turkish lawmaker, nursed his bandaged, blistered foot. Beside him, another Turkish lawmaker tended to a bleeding toe that had turned slightly purple.

This unlikely scene was being repeated dozens of times in this crowded area by the road, where roughly 30 lawmakers from Turkey’s main opposition party, as well as about a thousand members of the public, were suffering from sore soles.

It was Day 14 of the March for Justice, an epic trudge started by the Republican People’s Party, or C.H.P., that began in Ankara, the capital, on June 15 and is scheduled to end some 250 miles later — as the crow flies — in Istanbul on next Sunday.

By day they walk about 15 miles, and by night they sleep in rented caravans or hotels. In recent days, the marchers slogged up a mountain in the rain, and one died of a heart attack on the way. Here on Highway E-5, they have finally reached some flat farmland, but now have to walk in the blazing sun. Nevertheless, their numbers are swelling, with over 10,000 new marchers reported since a New York Times journalist visited them last week.

As Mr. Erdogan and his colleagues have found, there is little romance in the physical act of plodding for so long in heat that has often approached 100 degrees. But for some, the march has huge metaphorical meaning, prompting comparisons with the Salt March, the walk Mohandas K. Gandhi took to the Indian coast in 1930 to protest British colonial rule, which thousands of others joined.

Turkey’s marchers, led by the C.H.P.’s mild-mannered leader, Kemal Kilicdaroglu, are demonstrating against a more Turkish form of injustice. After a failed military coup last summer, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s government declared a state of emergency to allow the authorities to quickly round up people accused of plotting the coup. But the state of emergency has since been expanded to stifle most forms of legitimate opposition, in what Mr. Kilicdaroglu described in a roadside interview as “a civilian coup.”

And it is this crackdown that Mr. Kilicdaroglu and his fellow marchers are protesting: the arrest of 50,000 people — including, by several counts, more than 170 journalists and over a dozen lawmakers — and the dismissal or suspension of more than 140,000 Turkish workers, including several thousand academics as well as tens of thousands of teachers, prosecutors and civil servants who were believed to be critical of Turkey’s authoritarian, religiously conservative government.

As the first act of mass defiance against this purge, the march is currently “the biggest event in Turkish political life,” said one marcher, Sukru Kucuk-sahin. Once a prominent Turkish journalist, Mr. Kucuksahin has been jobless since being fired from a leading newspaper for writing columns critical of the government.

“The leader of the opposition,” Mr. Kucuksahin added with a hint of amazement, as if he could not quite believe what he was saying, “is marching from Ankara to Istanbul.”

The march is all the more surprising because Mr. Kilicdaroglu had previously been wary of unconventional forms of political opposition. Some have even argued that Mr. Erdogan’s continued electoral success is in part the result of Mr. Kilicdaroglu’s lack of dynamism and



EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY



TUMAY BERKIN/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Top, thousands of supporters of Turkey’s Republican People’s Party in Sakarya, Turkey, on Saturday. Left, Turkey’s main opposition leader, Kemal Kilicdaroglu, center, leading the March for Justice in Ankara, Turkey, on June 20, five days after it began.

Ergun Keles, 22, a textile worker. “They say ‘justice,’” Mr. Keles said as he waited for a bus that had been delayed by the marchers. “But I’ve been waiting half an hour in the sun. Is that justice?”

In another nearby town, Ahmet Buyukkara, a 27-year-old waiter, dismissed the march as so much posturing. “We call Kilicdaroglu the fake Gandhi,” he said. “The Chinese-made Gandhi.”

Part of this animosity has been stoked by Mr. Erdogan’s party. His allies have implied that the march put Mr. Kilicdaroglu and his colleagues in an alliance with terrorists and the plotters of last summer’s coup. Mr. Erdogan has even hinted that Mr. Kilicdaroglu may be arrested because of his role in the march.

But for now the state is allowing the march to proceed, and even granted it the protection of a group of police officers and members of the military police. As much as Mr. Erdogan would wince at the sight of thousands of antigovernment protesters marching into Istanbul, some analysts contend that he may feel he has more to lose by rounding them up and making a hero out of Mr. Kilicdaroglu.

Even some A.K.P. supporters “recognize that Kilicdaroglu has the right to march,” said Howard Eissenstat, a Turkey expert at St. Lawrence University and a non-resident senior fellow at the Project on Middle East Democracy, a think tank.

“A showdown in which that’s prevented really plays badly for a lot of Erdogan supporters, who believe in Erdogan and believe in the A.K.P. mission but expect it to be democratic,” Mr. Eissenstat added.

Mr. Kilicdaroglu is not taking anything for granted. He said he was ready to be arrested.

“If we have to pay a price,” he said as he prepared for the final stretch of the day’s marching, “we will pay for it.”

creativity.

But unusual times call for unusual measures. A recent referendum measure that gave Mr. Erdogan sweeping new powers highlighted the futility of following the conventional tactics of opposition. The vote was marred by voting irregularities, and the campaign that preceded it was not contested on a level playing field. Mr. Erdogan has also ruled by decree since the failed coup, undermining the role of Parliament and Mr. Kilicdaroglu’s role within it.

“With the current changes it is impossible for the opposition to talk in Parliament,” Mr. Kilicdaroglu said during a roadside interview. “The opposition has to look for other places to do its work, and in this case, it’s the march.”

As the C.H.P. is often criticized for failing to connect with citizens, the march is also an attempt to reach out beyond its traditional secularist base and build a broader coalition against

Mr. Erdogan.

The route takes marchers through Turkey’s conservative heartlands that, as one C.H.P. official, Yurter Ozcan, said, “I would never in million years have even thought I’d drive through.”

As they walk, the marchers have eschewed all party branding in an effort to attract citizens of all political stripes. The real test of this approach will come toward the end of this week, when the marchers hope that tens of thousands of people will join them for the final stretch.

For the moment, the tactic seems to have had promising results. One of Mr. Erdogan’s former deputy prime ministers, Abdullatif Sener, joined the marchers for a day last week. A prominent right-wing nationalist leader, Meral Aksener, has voiced her support, as has the country’s main pro-Kurdish party. And while a majority of the marchers appear to hail from the C.H.P.’s base, they also include a number

of conservative Turks.

On a recent sweltering day, the man puffing along at the front of the march was Prof. Cihangir Islam, a veteran of two Islamist parties and the former husband of Turkey’s first veiled lawmaker. Mr. Islam was purged from his university position this year after he signed a letter condemning a military campaign in several Kurdish cities.

“I had no connection with the C.H.P. before,” said Mr. Islam as he explained the varied backgrounds of the marchers. “You can observe many different kinds of social classes.”

Reaction from local residents, who voted heavily for Mr. Erdogan’s party — the Justice and Development Party, or A.K.P. — in the most recent elections, was more mixed. Well-wishers regularly flashed victory signs from their cars or stood on their balconies to applaud. One man, a nut farmer who said he usually voted for a rival opposition party, even bought lunch for several



QAB ELIAS EMERGENCY SERVICES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

## A Haven for Syrians Goes Up in Flames

A fire tore through a Syrian refugee camp in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon on Sunday, destroying tents and killing at least one person. About 700 people lived in the camp, a Red Cross official said.

## France to Bolster African Antiterror Force

BAMAKO, Mali (AP) — President Emmanuel Macron of France on Sunday promised strong support for a new multinational military force to combat extremists in parts of West Africa, saying the “terrorists, thugs and assassins” needed to be eradicated.

Meeting in Mali with leaders from the five countries that make up the Sahel region, Mr. Macron said France would provide military support for antiterrorism operations and 70 tactical vehicles, communications, and operational and protective equipment.

The 5,000-strong force will be deployed by September, Mr. Macron said at a news conference in the Malian capital, Bamako, by which time the force’s funding is expected to be finalized.

The leaders of Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Burkina Faso and Chad — the countries of the Sahel region known as the G5 — must clarify their roles and contributions for the force to attract more support from outside countries, Mr. Macron added. “We cannot hide behind words, and must take ac-

tions,” he said.

The new antiterrorism force will operate in the region along with 12,000 United Nations peacekeepers in Mali, one of the most dangerous peacekeeping missions in the world, and an existing French force of 5,000, the country’s largest overseas mission. The new force is not meant to replace those missions, Mr. Macron said. “It’s a force that fights against terrorism, and the trafficking of drugs and humans.”

President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita of Mali said that each of the Sahel countries would contribute 10 million euros, or \$11 million, toward the force’s €423 million (\$480 million) budget.

The European Union has already pledged about €50 million (\$57 million) in support of the Sahel force. In June, the United Nations Security Council unanimously approved a resolution endorsing the new force. The United Nations, however, will not contribute financially.

The meeting with Mr. Macron and the Sahel leaders on Sunday

came a day after the recently formed extremist group Nusrat al-Islam wal Muslimeen, based in Mali, released a video showing six foreign hostages seized in the region in recent years. The video claimed that “no genuine negotiations have begun to rescue your children.”

Mr. Macron said he welcomed the first sign of life for several months from the French hostage in the video, Sophie Petronin. “They are terrorists, thugs and assassins,” Mr. Macron said of the extremists. “And we will put all of our energies into eradicating them.”

The threat in the region has been growing for years. A French-led intervention drove out Islamic extremists from strongholds in northern Mali in 2013, but the extremists have continued targeting peacekeepers and other forces. In March, the extremist groups Ansar Dine, Al-Mourabitoun and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb declared that they had merged into Nusrat al-Islam wal Muslimeen.





PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vast, rural and mountainous, Northern California is predominantly white, is struggling financially and voted heavily for Donald J. Trump.

# The Great Red North of California

## A Fifth of the State In Area, but Closer To Texas Politically

By THOMAS FULLER

REDDING, Calif. — The deer heads mounted on the walls of Eric Johnson's church office are testament to his passion for hunting, a lifestyle enjoyed by many in the northernmost reaches of California but one that Mr. Johnson says surprises people he meets on his travels around America and abroad.

“When people see you're from California, they instantly think of ‘Baywatch,’” said Mr. Johnson, the associate pastor of Bethel Redding, a megachurch in this small city a three-and-a-half-hour drive north of San Francisco. “It's very different here from the rest of California.”

Mr. Johnson lives in what might be described as California's Great Red North, a bloc of 13 counties that voted for President Trump in November and that make up more than a fifth of the state's land mass but only 3 percent of its population.

From Hollywood to Silicon Valley, California projects an image as an economically thriving, politically liberal, sun-kissed El Dorado. It is a multiethnic experiment with a rising population, where the percentage of whites has fallen to 38 percent.

California's Great Red North is the opposite, a vast, rural, mountainous tract of pine forests with a political ethos that bears more resemblance to Texas than to Los Angeles. Two-thirds of the north is white, the population is shrinking and the region struggles economically, with median household incomes at \$45,000, less than half that of San Francisco.

Jim Cook, former supervisor of Siskiyou County, which includes cattle ranches and the majestic slopes of Mount Shasta, calls it “the forgotten part of California.”

In the same state that is developing self-driving cars, there's the rugged landscape of Trinity County, where a large share of residents heat their homes with wood, plaques commemorate stage-coach routes and the county seat, Weaverville, is an old gold-mining town with a lone blinking stop-and-go traffic light.

The residents of this region argue that their political voice is drowned out in a system that has only one state senator for every million residents.

This sentiment resonates in other traditionally conservative parts of California, including large swaths of the Central Valley, which runs down the state, and it mirrors red and blue tensions felt in areas across the country. But perhaps nowhere else in California is the alienation felt more keenly than in the far north, an arresting panorama of fields filled with wildflowers and depopulated one-street towns that have never recovered from the gold rush.

“People up here for a very long time



Eric Johnson, left, a pastor, with his hunting trophies. Mark Baird, above, has joined a suit against the legislative system. “It’s tyranny by the majority,” he said.

have felt a sense that we don't matter,” said James Gallagher, a state assemblyman for the Third District, which is a shorter drive from the forests of Mount Hood in Oregon than from the beaches of San Diego. “We run this state like it's one size fits all. You can't do that.”

Many liberals in California describe themselves as the resistance to Mr. Trump. Residents of the north say they are the resistance to the resistance, politically invisible to the Democratic governor and Legislature. California's strict regulations on the environment, gun control and hunting impinge on a rural lifestyle, they say, that urban politicians do not understand.

The state's stringent air quality and climate change regulations may be appropriate for technology workers, Mr. Gallagher said, but they are onerous for people living in rural areas.

“In the rural parts of the state we drive more miles, we drive older cars, our economy is an agriculture- and resource-based economy that relies on tractors and trucks,” Mr. Gallagher said. “You can't move an 80,000-pound load in an electric truck.”

A recently passed gas tax, pushed through by the Democratic majority, will disproportionately hurt rural voters, he said.

Taxation and hunting are two issues northerners are quick to seize upon when criticizing laws they feel are unfairly imposed by the state. But there are also more fundamental issues related to incomes and job opportunities that split California into a two-speed economy.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, unemployment rates hover around 3 percent. In the far north, where many timber mills have shut down in recent years, unemployment is as high as 6 percent in Shasta County and 16.2 percent in Colusa County.

Despite a go-it-alone ethos, residents of the 13 counties in the northern bloc are much more likely to receive government medical assistance than those in the Bay Area. In the north, 31 percent take part in Medi-Cal, the California Medicaid program, while the Bay Area rate is 19 percent, and California's overall figure 28

percent. United States Representative Doug LaMalfa, a Republican representing Northern California's First District, blames regulations that have shut down industries for the economic disparities.

“They’ve devastated ag jobs, timber jobs, mining jobs with their environmental regulations, so, yes, we have a harder time sustaining the economy, and therefore there's more people that are in a poorer situation.”

Because incomes are significantly lower than the state average and the region is so thinly populated, tax revenue from the far north is a fraction of what urban areas contribute. In 2014, the 13 northern counties had a combined state income tax assessment of \$1 billion, compared with \$4 billion from San Francisco County.

Resentment toward the rest of California has a long history here — there have been numerous efforts to split the state since its founding in 1850. After the presidential election, a proposal to secede from the union, driven by liberals and known as Calexit, gained attention.

Residents here have long backed a different proposal for a separate state, one

that would be carved out of Northern California and the southern reaches of Oregon. Flags of the so-called State of Jefferson, which was first proposed in the 19th century, fly on farms and ranches around the region.

Jefferson, named after the president who once envisioned establishing an independent nation in the western section of North America, is more a state of mind than a practicable proposal. Many see it as unrealistic for a region that has plenty of water and timber but perhaps not enough wealth to wean itself away from engines of the California economy.

However, two recent initiatives have channeled the deep feeling of underrepresentation.

In May, a loose coalition of northern activists and residents, including an Indian tribe and the small northern city of Fort Jones, joined forces to file a federal lawsuit arguing that California's legislative system is unconstitutional because the Legislature has not expanded with the population.

The suit, filed against the California secretary of state, Alex Padilla, who oversees election laws in California, calls for an increase in the membership of the

bicameral Legislature, which since 1862 has capped the number of lawmakers at 120.

The lawsuit argues that California now has the least representative system of any state in the nation. Each State Assembly member represents nearly 500,000 people and each state senator twice that.

“This arbitrary cap has created an oligarchy,” the lawsuit says.

By contrast, each member of the New York State Assembly represents on average 130,000 people; in New Hampshire, it's 3,330 people for each representative.

Mark Baird, one of the plaintiffs, says residents of California's far north feel as though they are being governed by an urbanized elite.

“I wake up in the morning and think, ‘What is California going to do to me today?’” said Mr. Baird, a former airline pilot who owns a ranch about an hour's drive from the Oregon border. In a grass valley framed by low-lying hills, Mr. Baird's pastures are filled with his small herd of buffalo and a few pens of horses and donkeys.

Mr. Baird complains of restrictions on the types of guns he can own. “It's tyranny by the majority,” he said. “The majority should never be able to deprive the minority of their inalienable rights.”

Scott Wiener, a state senator representing San Francisco, says he has sympathy for the concerns of rural voters but rejects the proposal for a larger legislative body.

“When you have a state as big and diverse as California, decisions are made that we don't all agree with,” he said.

The second initiative is a proposed amendment to California's Constitution that would change the method for dividing districts of the Legislature's upper house, the Senate. Instead of being based on population as they are now, Senate seats would be tied to regions, giving a larger voice to rural areas in the same way the federal Senate does.

“I am asking the people with power to give up some of their power in order to allow all the voices in the state to have a little bit more strength than they do right now,” said Mr. Gallagher, the assemblyman.

Northern Californians point out that the United States House of Representatives and Senate are based on the compromise between population and geography.

“What I can't get over is that a court can rule that it's not good for the state but it stands up at the federal level,” said Mr. LaMalfa, the congressman. “We wouldn't have a union if we hadn't come up with that compromise.”

Mr. LaMalfa, who lives on a farm, says California's urban denizens think of the rural areas as their “park,” and deplores what he describes as trophy legislation to protect animal species.

“You have idealists from the cities who say, ‘Wouldn't it be great to reintroduce wolves to rural California?’” Mr. LaMalfa said. He has a half-serious counterproposal: “Let's introduce some wolves into Golden Gate Park and the Santa Monica Pier.”



Mount Shasta. Some residents of the north say California's urban denizens think of the rural areas as their park.



# Trump, in Latest Bout With Media, Conjures Physical Fight With a Foe

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

President Trump posted a short video to his Twitter account on Sunday in which he is portrayed wrestling and punching a figure whose head has been replaced by the logo for CNN.

The video, about 28 seconds long, appears to be an edited clip from a years-old appearance by Mr. Trump in WrestleMania, an annual professional wrestling event. The clip ends with an on-screen restyling of the CNN logo as “FNN: Fraud News Network.”

Cartoonish in quality, the video is an unorthodox way for a sitting president to express himself. But Mr. Trump has ratcheted up his attacks on the news media in recent days — assailing CNN and crudely insulting the hosts of MSNBC’s “Morning Joe” — while defending his use of social media as “modern day presidential.”

In a speech on Saturday at a faith rally in Washington, Mr. Trump was met with cheers when he referred to CNN as “garbage journalism” and said: “The fake media tried to stop us from going to the White House. But I’m president, and they’re not.”

The wrestling video, which was also posted to the official @POTUS Twitter account, stirred criticism, disbelief and dumbfoundedness. Some journalists denounced its portrayal of violence as dangerous, saying it could incite attacks or threats against news media employees.

“I think it is unseemly that the president would attack journalists for doing their jobs, and encourage such anger at the media,” said Dean Baquet, the executive editor

Noah Weiland contributed reporting.



President Trump posted a video on Twitter on Sunday that appeared to be a clip of his appearance at a wrestling event, edited to show him tackling a figure with CNN’s logo in place of a head.

of The New York Times.

The administration did not respond to a request for comment. Mr. Trump’s homeland security adviser, Thomas Bossert, defended the video when he viewed it for the first time during a broadcast interview with Martha Raddatz of ABC News. “No one would perceive that as a threat,” Mr. Bossert said. “I hope they don’t.”

“He’s a genuine president expressing himself genuinely,” Mr. Bossert added.

A version of Mr. Trump’s video appeared last week on a Trump-dedicated page on the message board site Reddit, a popular meeting ground for some of the president’s most fervent supporters. The CNN logo is superimposed on what appears to be the head of

Vince McMahon, a wrestling magnet and a friend of Mr. Trump, who in his pre-presidential years often appeared as a guest on wrestling shows.

Mr. Trump’s fans on Reddit were exuberant about what they viewed as validation from the country’s most powerful man. “I love this,” wrote a user identified as American Crusader. “You know he saw it, chuckled, and knew he could control the media narrative for days by hitting the ‘post’ button. So he did.”

The president’s allies say that his attacks on the news media are justified, arguing that the president is merely defending himself from coverage that his supporters view as biased. Mr. Trump’s war of words with CNN is especially pop-

ular with his voter base.

News media advocates, however, have raised alarms about a recent spate of arrests and assaults on working journalists, including a high-profile episode in which a Montana congressional candidate, Greg Gianforte, assaulted a reporter for The Guardian, breaking his glasses.

Groups like the Committee to Protect Journalists, which usually focuses on countries where reporters’ freedoms are curtailed, say they are concerned that Mr. Trump’s campaign-trail rebukes of news organizations are now being issued from the pulpit of the White House.

“Targeting individual journalists or media outlets, on- or offline, creates a chilling effect and

fosters an environment where further harassment, or even physical attack, is deemed acceptable,” Courtney Radsch, the advocacy director for the Committee to Protect Journalists, wrote in a statement on Sunday, adding that Mr. Trump’s comments may embolden “autocratic leaders around the world.”

Mr. Trump, who is spending part of the weekend at his Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, N.J., posted the wrestling tweet just as prominent Republicans began appearing on the major Sunday news programs. On CNN, Senator Ben Sasse, a Nebraska Republican and frequent Trump critic, accused the president of “weaponizing distrust” toward the news media.

“There’s an important distinction to draw between bad stories or crappy coverage, and the right that citizens have to argue about that and complain about that,” Mr. Sasse said.

But Tom Price, the health and human services secretary, bristled when asked on the NBC program “Meet the Press” about Mr. Trump’s string of anti-media remarks.

“This is really remarkable,” Mr. Price said to the moderator, Chuck Todd. “Your program — a program with the incredible history of ‘Meet the Press’ — and that’s what you want to talk about?”

Some White House aides said privately on Sunday that the president was being held to a double standard. They argued that Mr. Trump’s video was akin to a recent exchange on MSNBC, in which the host, Chris Matthews, was discussing Mr. Trump’s son-in-law, Jared Kushner, and jokingly praised the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini for ordering the execu-

tion of his son-in-law.

Ari Fleischer, who was a press secretary to President George W. Bush, wrote on Twitter that he found Mr. Trump’s video to be “in poor taste.” But he added: “The reason POTUS does it is because the press has made themselves so unpopular. It’s a fight POTUS actually wins w much of the country.”

Mr. Trump regularly accuses CNN of bias, and he taunted the network last week after it was forced to retract a story about one of his close allies. On Saturday, hours before posting the wrestling video, Mr. Trump tweeted to his 33 million followers, “I am thinking about changing the name #FakeNews CNN to #FraudNewsCNN!”

On Sunday, CNN issued its response.

“It is a sad day when the president of the United States encourages violence against reporters,” the network said in a statement. “Instead of preparing for his overseas trip, his first meeting with Vladimir Putin, dealing with North Korea and working on his health care bill, he is involved in juvenile behavior far below the dignity of his office. We will keep doing our jobs. He should start doing his.”

In keeping with the online nature of many of Mr. Trump’s disputes, CNN also replied directly to the president on Twitter, highlighting a quotation from a recent White House briefing by his deputy press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders.

“The president in no way form or fashion has ever promoted or encouraged violence,” Ms. Sanders told reporters on Thursday. “If anything, quite the contrary.”

## Cut Taxes? In States, G.O.P. Goes Other Way

By JEREMY W. PETERS

WASHINGTON — Something strange has been happening to taxes in Republican-dominated states: They are going up.

Conservative lawmakers in Kansas, South Carolina and Tennessee have agreed to significant tax increases in recent weeks to meet demands for more revenue. They are challenging what has become an almost dogmatic belief for their party, and sharply diverging from President Trump as he pushes for what his administration has billed as the largest tax cut in at least a generation.

And now some Republicans say that what has played out in these states should serve as a cautionary tale in Washington, where their party’s leaders are confronting a set of circumstances that looks strikingly similar.

Republicans, with control of Congress and the White House and a base that is growing impatient for tax reform, are trying to solve a difficult math problem: paying for critical programs like infrastructure, health care and education while honoring their promise to deliver lower taxes without exploding the deficit.

The debate promises to test the enduring relevance of one of the most fundamental principles of modern conservatism — supply side economics, the idea that if you cut taxes far enough, the economy will expand to the point that it generates new tax revenue.

With the federal deficit growing and economic growth sputtering along in the low single digits, the Republican Party is facing questions from within over what many see as a blind faith in the theory that deep tax cuts are the shot of economic adrenaline a languid economy needs.

“Tax cuts — good. And that’s about as much thinking that goes into it,” said Chris Buskirk, a radio host and publisher of American Greatness, a conservative online journal. Now, he said, Republicans in Washington seem to be in an arms race to the lowest rates possible.

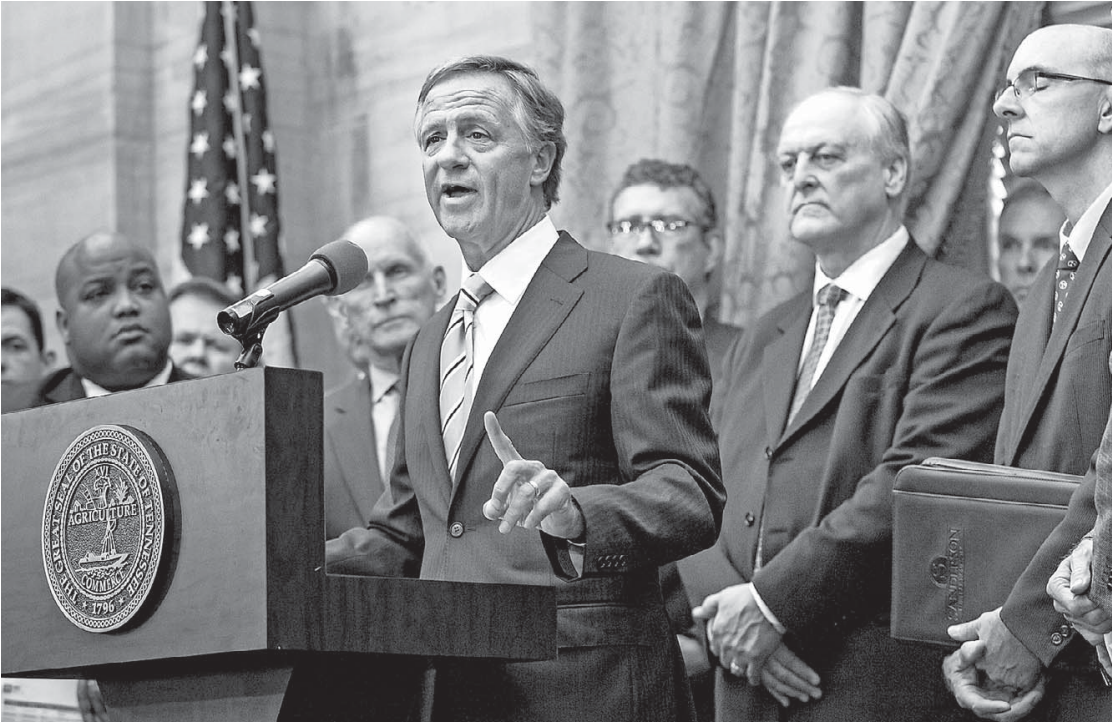
“Everybody is trying to overbid each other,” Mr. Buskirk said. “How much more can we cut?”

Outside Washington, Republicans are discovering there are limits.

In South Carolina, Republicans overrode their governor’s veto and a blocked a filibuster to increase the gas tax. They also rejected a series of broader tax cuts on the grounds that they were too expensive and voted instead to create a smaller tax incentive for low-income families.

The Republican governor of Tennessee, Bill Haslam, signed into law the first increase in the state’s gas tax in almost three decades. He defied conservative groups that said a state with a \$1.1 billion budget surplus had no business asking people to hand over more of their money.

And in the most striking rebuke of conservative tax policy in recent memory, Republicans in Kan-



Gov. Bill Haslam of Tennessee, a Republican, signed a law raising the state’s gas tax for the first time in almost three decades.

sas have undone much of the tax overhaul that Gov. Sam Brownback held up as a model for other states and the federal government to emulate.

“A fantastic way to go,” he said this year, urging Mr. Trump and Congress to follow suit with deep reductions to corporate and individual rates. But Republican lawmakers in Kansas decided that they could cut only so much without doing irreparable harm to vital services and voted to increase taxes by \$1.2 billion last month. Mr. Brownback vetoed the plan, but Republicans overrode him.

Much of the devotion to tax cuts as an inviolable Republican principle stems from the success that President Ronald Reagan and Congress had in 1981 when they agreed to an economic recovery package that included a rate cut of about 25 percent for individuals.

But at that time, the highest marginal tax rates approached 70 percent, leaving much more to cut and a much larger chunk of money to be injected back into the econ-

omy. At some point, economists said, tax policy that is too aggressive leaves too little money to inject to make a difference.

Bruce Bartlett, who advised Reagan on the 1981 tax cuts, chastised Republicans for what he described as their reflexive desire to drive rates lower.

“The essence of what the supply-siders were trying to accomplish was accomplished by the end of the Reagan administration,” Mr. Bartlett said.

Yet, he added, Republican policy still mimics what was done under Reagan. “They’ve got to keep pressing ahead — no matter what,” he said.

The situation in Kansas was, for at least some conservatives, a jolting realization that tax cuts can be too blunt an economic instrument.

After Mr. Brownback took office in 2011, he pursued a plan that included cuts and, in some cases, an outright elimination of taxes for businesses and individuals to help invigorate the state’s underperforming economy. He described it

as “an experiment” in conservative governance that could demonstrate what Republicans were capable of if they controlled legislative and executive branches across the country. (He is Kansas’ first Republican governor since 2003.)

The conservative movement got behind him. The plan was approved with the lobbying muscle of the billionaire Koch brothers’ political network, which is overseen from Wichita, where one of the brothers, Charles G. Koch lives. It had the blessing of prominent conservative economists like Stephen Moore and Arthur Laffer, the Republican Party’s foremost supply-side evangelist.

In urging the Kansas Legislature to act, Mr. Laffer and Mr. Moore said the cuts would have a “near immediate” positive impact on the economy. Mr. Brownback said the plan would pay for itself.

That is where the parallels with Washington start to trouble those who are critical of the plan the Trump administration has laid

out. The plan would slash the rate paid by businesses to 15 percent and shrink the number of individual income tax brackets from seven to three — 10, 25 and 35 percent.

Mr. Laffer and Mr. Moore, a Heritage Foundation economist, have both helped shape the president’s tax policy.

Steven T. Mnuchin, the Treasury secretary, said the Trump tax cuts would pay for themselves with the economic growth they would inevitably create.

In Kansas, the predicted economic bloom did not materialize. Employment and economic growth have lagged far behind the rest of the nation. The state treasury had so little money to spread around that the Kansas Supreme Court found that the state’s spending on public education was unconstitutionally low.

“If there were three words I could say to Congress right now,” said Stephanie Clayton, a Republican state representative from a district in the Kansas City area, “they would be, ‘Don’t do it.’”



Gov. Sam Brownback, above, a Republican, after the Kansas Legislature overrode his veto of a tax increase last month. Right, the Tennessee House debating the gas-tax increase in April.



MARK HUMPHREY/ASSOCIATED PRESS





SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Foot Soldier Sidelined Amid Russia Inquiry

From Page A1

office near the boss at Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue. Officially, his title was special counsel, but he appears to have served more as a kind of personal arm-twister. If anyone crossed Mr. Trump or stood in his way, Mr. Cohen, who was known to sometimes carry a licensed pistol in an ankle holster, would cajole, bully or threaten a lawsuit, according to a half-dozen people who dealt with him over the years.

“If somebody does something Mr. Trump doesn’t like, I do everything in my power to resolve it to Mr. Trump’s benefit,” Mr. Cohen once said during an interview with ABC News. “If you do something wrong, I’m going to come at you, grab you by the neck, and I’m not going to let you go until I’m finished.”

Since Mr. Trump became president, his need for loyal foot soldiers like Mr. Cohen has never been greater. But instead of helping his longtime employer navigate F.B.I. and congressional investigations into whether his campaign colluded with Russia in the 2016 election, Mr. Cohen now appears to be outside the Trump inner circle, a man on the defensive.

The House Intelligence Committee has summoned him for questioning in its inquiry. (Mr. Cohen’s lawyer in Washington said his client was cooperating.) He is under scrutiny by the F.B.I., along with other Trump associates, in the Russia investigation. An unverified dossier prepared by a retired British spy and published this year said that Mr. Cohen had met overseas with Kremlin officials and other Russian operatives, which he has denied. (He once posted on Twitter, “The #RussianDossier is WRONG!”)

He has also attracted attention for playing a role in a failed effort to open a back channel for peace negotiations between Russia and Ukraine, where his wife’s family is from.

After years of loyal service to Mr. Trump, Mr. Cohen, 50, expected to be offered a senior administration post, according to four people who know him, speaking on the condition of anonymity because they feared angering Mr. Cohen.

He was given no such job. On the networking site LinkedIn, Mr. Cohen refers to himself as the “personal attorney to President Donald J. Trump,” but his precise role and current relationship with the president is unclear, and he would not elaborate. The White House did not respond to requests for comment. In recent weeks, another lawyer, Marc E. Kasowitz, seems to have largely taken Mr. Cohen’s place as Mr. Trump’s personal lawyer.

“Clearly my life has changed since Trump became POTUS and I accepted the role as personal attorney to the president,” Mr. Cohen wrote in a text message in response to a question from a New York Times reporter last week. “This change has come with both many pros and cons.”

And so Mr. Cohen has found himself increasingly relegated to the role of second-string defender. He has chastised critics, including Snoop Dogg (“There’s so much more that Snoop can do for this country”) and Johnny Depp (“Way to use your notoriety for good, Captain

Jack-Ass!”).

Like Mr. Trump, he lashes out at critics on Twitter, where he also spends quite a bit of time fighting with anonymous critics, or trolls — calling them “haters” and “idiots,” sometimes within the comment threads of Mr. Trump’s tweets.

In one such exchange last week, a Twitter user named Corvetteman, who has 88 followers and a profile photograph of an orange cat, called Mr. Cohen “a joke.” Mr. Cohen replied: “Reminder...@realDonaldTrump won! Wake up #hater.”

## Ascent to Trump Tower

Mr. Cohen was already a wealthy man with his own small real estate empire by the time he joined Mr. Trump’s orbit. Even so, his ascent from a lawyer handling personal injury cases out of an office shared with his taxi company — first in Manhattan, then in Queens — to the 26th floor of Trump Tower is a remarkable New York story.

Mr. Cohen comes from a long line of doctors and lawyers. His father survived the Holocaust in Poland and went on to become a physician on Long Island. An uncle close to the Cohen family, Morton W. Levine, is a doctor and businessman. He ran summer weight-loss and fitness camps for children decades ago and has long owned a Brooklyn catering hall, El Caribe, a popular site for weddings and retirement parties that was a meeting spot in the 1980s and 1990s for Italian and Russian mobsters. (Dr. Levine was never charged with any wrongdoing.)

In an interview, Mr. Cohen said he became a lawyer to appease one of his grandmothers, who threatened to leave him out of her will if he did not. “You don’t really have any money,” he said he replied, “to which she slapped me across my face.”

He saw himself as an entrepreneurial risk taker from an early age.

While a student at American University in Washington, he said he imported luxury cars into the United States. He also invested in a casino boat that went bust and helped his family organize an ethanol business in Ukraine that failed.

In 1992, he began working as a personal injury lawyer in New York and eventually opened his own practice. He and his family also began buying taxi medallions, purchased through companies with names like Sir Michael Hacking Corp and Mad Dog Cab Corp. He and his wife, Laura, acquired more than 30 New York City taxi medallions, once worth millions of dollars, and he owned 22 more in Chicago, according to public records.

He also once had his own political ambitions. He ran for the New York City Council as a Republican in 2003 and lost, and later flirted briefly with running for the New York State Senate, but dropped out after a month.

Several of the men he associated with in business dealings over the years faced legal problems of one sort or another. His boss at his first law firm, a personal injury practice, pleaded guilty to bribery in an insurance scheme. His father-in-law, who once also owned taxi medallions, pleaded guilty to tax-related charges more than two decades ago. Two of his partners in the taxi business have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines and settlements for various violations. Mr. Cohen, though, has avoided legal troubles.



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, a taxi management company in the Long Island City neighborhood of Queens where Michael D. Cohen and a partner had a taxi business and where Mr. Cohen once had his law office. Left, 172 Rivington Street in New York. Mr. Cohen bought it for \$2.1 million in 2011 and sold it for \$10 million three years later.

From 2011 to 2014, he purchased four small apartment buildings in Manhattan and sold them for a total of \$32 million. In 2015, he paid \$58 million for a seven-story apartment building on the Upper East Side.

Those who have known him for years said Mr. Cohen had a penchant for luxury, like Mr. Trump. Mr. Cohen was married to the Pierre, a legacy luxury hotel overlooking Central Park, drove a Porsche in college and at one point owned a Bentley.

It was his purchase of blocks of apartments in Trump buildings starting around 2001 that seems to have caught Mr. Trump’s eye. At the time of the 2006 board dispute, Mr. Cohen was overseeing the finishing touches on his new apartment at Trump Park Avenue. Not long after the dispute was resolved, Mr. Cohen said, he was summoned to Trump Tower and offered a job.

At the time, he was a partner at the Phillips Nizer LLP law firm. He said that he immediately accepted Mr. Trump’s offer and never returned to his old office, where he had worked for about a year. Instead, he moved into an office previously used by Mr. Trump’s daughter Ivanka Trump.

Explaining his relationship with Mr. Trump, Mr. Cohen said in an interview last month with The Times, “When he finds someone who he considers capable, does a great job and accomplishes the task, he tends to go back to that person again and again and again.” He added, “He’s comfortable with people who he

deems worthy.”

The scope of Mr. Cohen’s job with Mr. Trump is not clear. After a decade of working for the Trump Organization, he has left little public record of his accomplishments. An effort to develop Trump-branded golf communities in New Jersey and in Fresno, Calif., floundered, along with a mixed martial arts venture with a Russian fighter as the headliner. Mr. Cohen did some scouting and groundwork for possible Trump condominium towers in the former Soviet republics of Georgia and Kazakhstan, but those deals never materialized.

He has declined to discuss the details of what he did at the company, and the Trump Organization did not respond to requests for comment. Some people who worked with him also declined to describe Mr. Cohen’s tenure, with several of them saying they feared being sued.

Mr. Cohen’s younger brother, Bryan Cohen, said he was a different person than his public appearances might suggest, describing him more as a father figure growing up in the Five Towns section of Long Island.

The man he became, Bryan Cohen surmised, would have made a good contestant on Mr. Trump’s reality show “The Apprentice.”

“I believe that my brother represents the type of person that the show depicted that Trump liked and appreciated,” Bryan Cohen said. “He had a combination of smarts, street smarts, and those things are not mutually exclusive. He’s successful, aggressive. That seemingly was a

winning combination on the early seasons of “The Apprentice.”

Throughout it all, Michael Cohen has clearly idolized his boss.

He has described Mr. Trump as “our patriarch” and “the greatest deal maker of this century.” He has said that he patterned his life after “The Art of the Deal,” and he shares Mr. Trump’s taste for boxy suits and long silk ties. He even sounds a bit like Mr. Trump, with a punchy edge to his New York accent.

## Life on the Outside

Mr. Cohen said in January that he planned to leave his job with the Trump Organization to avoid any perception of a conflict of interest as one of Mr. Trump’s lawyers.

He has recently been spending time in Washington. The Republican National Committee named him to its finance leadership team this year, and in April, the international law firm and Washington lobbying powerhouse Squire Patton Boggs formed a “strategic alliance” with Mr. Cohen’s law practice.

Several people with knowledge of Mr. Cohen’s involvement with Squire Patton Boggs said he had been brought on as a sort of rainmaker because of his business contacts in the United States and abroad. He will operate out of the firm’s New York office and will be able to take advantage of its global reach to help his own clients.

He is also conferring with his lawyer, Stephen M. Ryan, of the firm McDermott, Will & Emery, to prepare for his appearance before the House committee. Its Senate counterpart is conducting its own Russia inquiry, with which Mr. Cohen is cooperating, the lawyer said, but that panel has not called Mr. Cohen for questioning.

Mr. Cohen is still working hard for Mr. Trump. In recent weeks, he was soliciting donations for the president’s victory fund, a joint fund-raising effort between Mr. Trump and the Republican National Committee. “Proud to say I raised over \$500K today,” he said in a recent text message. He later said preliminary figures indicated that he had brought in about \$2 million.

At a \$35,000-a-plate fund-raiser last week at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, Mr. Trump acknowledged the efforts of his former employee, whom he said he had not seen in a month.

“Michael is a great lawyer, loyal, a wonderful person, talented, loves being on television,” Mr. Trump said, according to an audio recording of the event. “I miss you, man,” he added.



ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump in September in Cleveland, with Mr. Cohen, his longtime personal lawyer, standing behind his right shoulder.

Susanne Craig contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett and Susan C. Beachy contributed research.



# Used to House Poor, Credits Reinforce City Racial Divides

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ended up in Houston's Fifth Ward, a neighborhood she was not happy with. Founded by former slaves, the community, just east of downtown, has a long history of blight but has undergone significant redevelopment in recent years.

Her three children want change, she said.

"They talk about this all the time, about us moving into a better area," said Ms. McKinney, 46, who used to work in retail but is now disabled. "They're actually tired of living in what they call the ghetto."

The proposed Houston housing, known as the Fountain View Drive project, would be built in the Galleria district, which sits a few miles west of downtown and features shiny office towers and stores. And at 87 percent white, it is an unlikely site for low-income tax-credit housing.

While only about a third of census tracts in the nation's hundred largest metropolitan areas have a

## A battle in Houston for affordable homes reflects a U.S. trend.

majority nonwhite population, 54 percent of new tax-credit projects have been built in those tracts since 2000, according to a Times analysis. And that pattern of placing tax-credit projects in communities with disproportionately high black and Latino populations has been consistent over time, the data shows.

The Treasury Department, which administers the program, includes no provisions in its regulations that address segregation. That, fair-housing advocates argue, runs afoul of the Fair Housing Act, which requires government agencies that administer housing programs to do so in a way that reduces racial segregation.

"It's been clear for a long time that the tax-credit program is perpetuating racial segregation," said Michael Daniel, a fair-housing lawyer.

While nearly 58 percent of the people living in all tax-credit properties in Houston are black, the area proposed for the housing development is just 3 percent black.

At the meeting last year, Galleria residents complained mostly of school overcrowding, the effect on their property values and the cost of the project. Yet some people hinted at deeper social discomfords.

One man, Richard Caldwell, stepped to the microphone and described a low-income area in Oxnard, Calif., where he had lived previously. The families there, he said, jammed a lot of people into the apartments by subletting rooms.

"They're going to sublet it out, and you won't have any control over it," he said.

Doris Burke contributed research.

In a letter to the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, one Galleria resident warned that the development would introduce an "unwelcome resident who, due to poverty and lack of education, will bring the threat of crime, drugs and prostitution to the neighborhood."

She had made it to the neighborhood, she wrote, through the hard work and sacrifice of her family.

"I will fight very hard," she continued, "before I give up that privilege and dignity to those who, either from lack of initiative or misfortune, don't deserve to be there."

Mayor Sylvester Turner, who is black and in his first term, vehemently opposed the project and decided not to put it before the City Council for a vote. His opposition was mostly due to the cost, he said, but he acknowledged that race may have motivated other critics.

"I know for a fact that there were some who did not want it because they did not want, quote-unquote, those people coming over there," he said. "I got that. But that is their right to exercise their freedom of speech, even though I fundamentally disagree."

Greg Travis, the city councilman representing the area, said race was not a concern in the community, where about 29 percent of the elementary students are Latino and 7 percent are black. Rather, for some residents it was about how low-income neighbors might fit in, he said.

"People of different socioeconomic status sometimes have different values based on their socioeconomic status," he said. "Some people can afford things that other people can't."

"You go to certain places, their houses would be painted," he continued. "Others, they can't afford that as much, so you don't see it as often. It's not a bad thing, it's just a socioeconomic thing."

Several United States senators reintroduced a bipartisan bill this year that would greatly increase funding for the tax-credit program and prohibit community members from vetoing projects.

"One of the biggest obstacles that has always existed and that remains in building affordable housing in higher-income, higher-opportunity neighborhoods is local opposition," said Diane Yentel, the president and chief executive of the National Low Income Housing Coalition.

Although the Treasury Department administers low-income housing tax credits, each state is left to decide which projects are funded. Ever since Texas made changes to its selection process four years ago, projects have increasingly gone into neighborhoods that are whiter and more affluent, according to a study by the Texas Low Income Housing Information Service, the fair-housing group that Ms. Palay works for.

Whether that is what's best for low-income families is at the center of a dispute between Houston and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which is the government's chief enforcer of fair-housing laws.

In January, in the waning days



Erica Ashton with her brother-in-law, James Smith, and his daughter, Jamie, at her low-income apartment complex in Houston.



Above left, the site of the proposed Fountain View Drive apartment complex in the Galleria district of Houston. Katrina Rhodes, above right, hopes it will be built. "If there was an opportunity for me to move over there, guess what: I would go," she said.

of the Obama presidency, the department sent a scathing letter to Houston, saying that the opposition to the Fountain View project was partly motivated by race. The department had found that 81 percent of tax-credit developments in Houston were in census tracts where eight in 10 people are minorities. HUD threatened to take the city to court if it did not approve the development.

Mr. Turner took exception to the department's demands.

"I don't think the right message to be sending to kids in low-income families is that the only way they can succeed is that they have to move into affluent communities to do that," he said.

Instead, Mr. Turner has strongly advocated investing in black and Latino communities that lack resources, saying new housing could be one tool to help improve them.

"But this is the same thing we have been hearing for years, if not decades," said Gustavo Velasquez, a former assistant HUD secretary who worked on the Houston investigation.

Mr. Velasquez described telling Mr. Turner in a meeting that Fountain View represented a balanced approach to developing affordable housing in both poor and affluent areas.

"This was the opportunity for the city to take that bold step and start reversing Houston's legacy of segregation," he said.

Research suggests that when children from low-income households grow up in affluent communities, they tend to get a better education and earn more money as adults. But a study published last year by two Stanford professors made a case for building tax-credit housing in high-poverty areas, finding that home values around the developments rose by about 6.5 percent and that segregation decreased modestly.

Ben Carson, the secretary of housing and urban development, declined to comment on the Houston project, but he has publicly stressed the importance of investing in low-income communities and questioned government-driven efforts to promote integration.

"The secretary strongly be-

lieves that all cities should provide the opportunity for their residents to have a diverse range of housing options," Raphael Williams, a HUD spokesman, said in a statement.

He added that the department was still contemplating what to do about the Fountain View project. The city has asked HUD to withdraw its complaint, and the fate of the project hinges on whether the department complies or tries to force Houston to allow it to be built.

One Houston resident, Katrina Rhodes, wants the development to be built. As she sat in her second-floor apartment one afternoon, holding her 21-month-old daughter, Chassity, Ms. Rhodes had fresh worries about her 9-year-old daughter, Leeah.

Just a day earlier, Leeah, who walks more than a mile to and from school every day because school buses do not come out that way, was chased home by fourth graders in a dispute over someone being sprayed with Silly String, Ms. Rhodes said. Without any extracurricular activities at the school, Ms. Rhodes, 31, worries

about what will keep her children busy.

She wants a neighborhood like the Galleria, where, she believes, the schools are better and they will have the best chance to succeed.

"If there was an opportunity for me to move over there, guess what: I would go," she said.

Not everyone thinks it would be a good idea to move.

"No," Erica Ashton, 38, said of whether she would move to the Galleria from her spartan, low-income apartment complex in a predominantly black part of northwest Houston. She was worried about the discrimination she might face.

Her brother-in-law, James Smith, wondered if integration could even work as he bounced his 15-month-old daughter, Jamie, on his lap. If black people moved into the Galleria, white people would flee, he said, adding that it would be more instinctive than intentional.

"Out there," said Mr. Smith, 46, "they were taught: 'This is us. If anything from the outside tries to come in, we shall stop it.'"

# Fans of White House Garden Hope New Tenants Keep It Green

By EMILY BAUMGAERTNER

WASHINGTON — On the South Lawn of the White House just over a year ago, 10-year-old Endya Colbert dangled a worm directly in front of Michelle Obama's face. Endya's mother, Chala Colbert, has a photograph to prove it.

It was a brisk day for the first lady's final spring planting, but Endya, whose elementary school in New Orleans offers a gardening program, assured Michelle — yes, the student felt certain they were on a first-name basis — that the worm was a sign of healthy soil.

The current first lady, Melania Trump, is settling into the White House and has yet to officially embrace her predecessor's seasonal ritual: leaving the White House — often at a sprint — waving toward a crowd of miniature green thumbs, all of them in sneakers soon to be matted with mulch.

Some supporters of the White House Kitchen Garden — the 2,800-square-foot foundation of Mrs. Obama's Let's Move! campaign to reduce childhood obesity — have expressed doubts that the vegetable patch could weather a blustery presidential transition.

The Trump administration has already taken direct aim at the previous administration's nutrition agenda by rolling back the school meal standards of the Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act of 2010. President Trump's budget proposals have included reduced funding for food stamps, Meals on Wheels and after-school programs that feed children, citing a lack of demonstrable evidence



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

First Lady Michelle Obama joined students from across the country in June last year to harvest vegetables from the White House Kitchen Garden and prepare a fresh, healthy meal.

that such programs are effective.

But the White House Kitchen Garden is one Obama-era legacy that may not be plowed under. Still, those outside the White House who support the garden are seeking creative efforts to keep it an East Wing priority.

The White House garden "made such a positive impact on low-income students — on how they view themselves," Mrs. Colbert

said after her daughter had returned to the White House two months later to harvest and cook vegetables with Mrs. Obama's friend Rachael. (Yes, Rachael Ray, the celebrity chef and talk show host.) "Many of them don't see vegetables in their daily meals, but Endya came back with all these healthy recipe ideas that I didn't even know how to make!"

Sam Kass, the former executive

director of the Let's Move! campaign and former White House chef, said sowing those habits was what Mrs. Obama's initiative — and the garden itself — was all about.

"She was quite serious, always, about delivering real results, about making it easier for families to raise healthy kids," Mr. Kass said. "You saw her out there, digging and planting, chopping and

eating with the kids — it kept us grounded in those principles."

In the physical and financial sense, the garden's preservation is guaranteed. In October 2016, W. Atlee Burpee & Company and the Burpee Foundation, its philanthropic counterpart, jointly donated \$2.5 million to the National Park Foundation to ensure care for the plot for years to come.

According to Mrs. Trump's communications director, Stephanie Grisham, the White House kitchen will cook with the home-grown vegetables and will donate the remaining harvest to charity. Ms. Grisham also said that the Trump family planned to continue the educational nature of the garden.

But the White House's June harvest was carried out solely by the National Park Service, and administrators at the local Bancroft and Tubman schools, whose students frequented the garden over the last eight years, said they had not been invited back since the transition.

Other student programs that had been invited to the garden in the past, including Edible Schoolyard New Orleans — Endya Colbert's program — also have not been contacted.

"It remains to be seen what Mrs. Trump's priorities will be," said Claudia Barker, the executive director of Edible Schoolyard. "I would certainly hope — but I wouldn't say I'm hopeful. This is an administration that basically wants to reduce or eliminate free

school meals for impoverished children."

George Ball, the chairman and chief executive of Burpee, the patch's donor company, is hopeful for an East Wing encore. Mr. Ball, who has tried to nudge Mrs. Trump toward gardening through op-ed articles in regional newspapers, is now hoping to support the garden by helping the new first lady reconnect with her roots.

The company will dispatch representatives to Mrs. Trump's hometown in Slovenia in pursuit of the Raka red onion — a rare Egyptian-Slovenian crossbreed first developed by the first lady's grandfather, on the family farm where her mother once worked.

Mr. Ball said it could take several visits before negotiations with the Slovenes were successful. But he said he considered it worthwhile, expressing concern that the multilingual international model who left Slovenia two decades ago might be feeling homesick.

"Once I learned about her horticultural heritage, I didn't need to think about it for more than a few minutes before I thought, 'Wow, this is a great idea,'" he said. "Imagine, for Melania — trying to adjust to a new life in a new town — it's a little bit of home, growing right in her backyard. We are taking this trip on the chance that she will be, we hope, delighted."

He added, "But if she doesn't accept, I don't care, I'm just excited to see it — it's supposed to be a really amazing onion."



# An Addict. A Confessed Killer. Now a Published Author.

From Page A1

sons. The protagonist's crime is never revealed, but his guilt is palpable. The smell of burning tobacco "caused me to think of home and all the pain I'd caused," he reflects. "I thought of my children and freedom, everything I'd taken and lost."

The novelist Nickolas Butler said he was hesitant to endorse the book, given the gravity of Mr. Dawkins's crime. He ultimately gave it a glowing blurb, calling the stories "authentic and rare" after learning of Mr. Dawkins's remorse. "I wanted to know what happened and where he is with that now, because obviously there was a family that was shattered by his actions," he said.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, some of members of that family have serious misgivings. Kenneth Bowman, the victim's younger brother, said he wished that Mr. Dawkins, now 49, had received the death penalty. "I don't think he should have the right to publish anything," said Mr. Bowman, a contractor in Phoenix. "He should be doing nothing in that prison but going through hell for the rest of his life."

Readers may have their own qualms and questions. Mr. Dawkins briefly refers to his crime in the book's acknowledgments in a cursory mention that hardly captures the night of the shooting and its horrific aftermath, writing, "There's often so much sadness and grief in my heart, it feels like I might explode."

Nearly 13 years later, Mr. Dawkins still cannot fathom what drove him to murder.

"I don't want to blame the drugs and say that it wasn't me, because part of it was me," he said during an interview. "I've spent the years afterwards trying to understand the events of that night."

## A Relapse, Then Violence

Mr. Dawkins grew up in Louisville, Ill., where his family ran a grocery store and meatpacking plant.

He started drinking when he was 12, a habit that worsened in his 20s, leading him to drop out of college.

In 1991, he went to an addiction treatment center and began attending Alcoholics Anonymous meetings. He eventually got sober and took a job in his father's meatpacking business. When a man he met at A.A. gave Mr. Dawkins books by Faulkner and Salinger, he fell in love with fiction and went back to school to study English at Southern Illinois University.

He later enrolled in a graduate writing program at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, where he studied with Elizabeth McCracken, Jaimy Gordon and Stuart Dybek. In a writing workshop, he met Kimberly Knutsen, a Ph.D. student in English, and in 1998, they started dating. She had a 3-year-old son, Henry, and after they had been together for several months, they had a son, Elijah, born prematurely, at 26 weeks. About two years later, they had a daughter, Lily Rose, also premature.

They bought a house in nearby Portage, Mich., and Mr. Dawkins found a job as a car salesman while Ms. Knutsen worked on her dissertation. He went to A.A. meetings regularly, attended a nondenominational church and took the children to Pokémon conferences and baseball games.

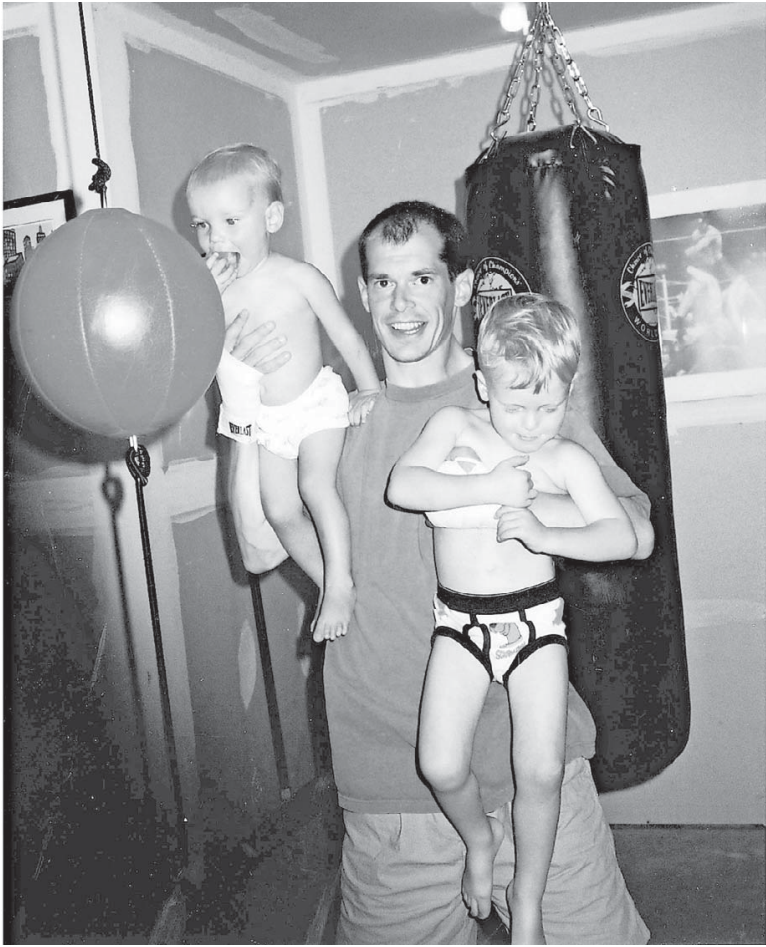
But money was tight, and the couple argued. Mr. Dawkins began to slip back into addiction, starting with prescription painkillers. He started using ketamine, then heroin. In the summer of 2004, Ms. Knutsen asked him to move out. As his drug use escalated, he became paranoid about meeting drug dealers and bought a gun for protection, a Smith & Wesson .357-caliber revolver.

The night he killed Thomas Bowman, 48, a house painter who lived in Kalamazoo near the college campus, Mr. Dawkins went first to see Ms. Knutsen and the children. They had dinner together, and he watched a baseball game on TV with Henry, who was 10. He said he was going home to watch a movie and would call Ms. Knutsen later. It was Saturday, Oct. 30, and he planned to come back the next night to hand out candy while Ms. Knutsen went trick-or-treating with Henry; Lily Rose, 4; and Elijah, who was almost 6.

Instead, he went to the north side of Kalamazoo and bought and smoked crack, which he later told the police that he had never tried before. He drank alcohol for the first time in years. At some point, he put on a Halloween costume, a 1920s-style gangster suit and hat purchased at Goodwill, and a menacing flesh-colored mask. He grabbed his gun and wandered down the block to some off-campus Halloween parties.

The first 911 call came in around 1:40 a.m., according to the police report. Mr. Dawkins had approached a group of people on the street, in front of a house where a party was going on. A young man named Jarrod Keeler asked Mr. Dawkins what his costume was supposed to be. Mr. Dawkins suddenly pulled out his revolver and put it against Mr. Keeler's forehead. Mr. Keeler, who at first thought the gun was part of a costume, grabbed at the revolver, and Mr. Dawkins ran down the street, firing into the air.

He ended up in front of Mr. Bowman's house. Mr. Bowman was on the porch, smoking a cigarette. Mr. Dawkins asked him for money. When Mr. Bowman refused and told him to leave, Mr. Dawkins shot him



DAWKINS FAMILY PHOTO

Curtis Dawkins with his children Lily Rose, left, and Elijah, right, at home in Portage, Mich., in 2003. The next year, he shot and killed Thomas Bowman.

Curtis Dawkins ended up in front of Thomas Bowman's house. Mr. Bowman was on the porch, smoking a cigarette. Mr. Dawkins asked him for money. When Mr. Bowman refused and told him to leave, Mr. Dawkins shot him in the chest.

in the chest.

A nearby police officer heard gunfire, called for backup and headed toward the house. He could see Mr. Dawkins through the windows. Mr. Dawkins started banging on the doors of the rooms where Mr. Bowman's housemates were sleeping. One of them climbed out of his window onto the roof of the porch to escape. Another locked his door.

The third, James Honz, opened his door, and Mr. Dawkins entered with his gun raised and ordered him to sit on his bed. Then he pointed his revolver at Mr. Honz's head and told him to kneel. He asked Mr. Honz if he was afraid to die, and told him to get ready to meet Jesus.

A six-member SWAT team arrived at the house, where Mr. Dawkins had barricaded the bedroom door with a mini-refrigerator and an air conditioner. When the police tried to ram through, he shot at the wall and yelled that he would kill anyone who entered.

One of the officers tried talking to Mr. Dawkins, asking if he believed in God, and telling him that God would forgive him. Mr. Dawkins let Mr. Honz go, then shut the door and asked for a phone. He wanted to call Ms. Knutsen and the children to say goodbye before he shot himself. Mr. Dawkins eventually came out shortly before 4 a.m. with his hands up.

The detective who took Mr. Dawkins's videotaped confession, Michael Slancik, said Mr. Dawkins had seemed dazed and unclear about why he had done it. "He wasn't a jerk, he wasn't yelling, he wasn't

bouncing off the walls or anything," Detective Slancik said. "I'm going to actually say that he was calm."

The victim, Mr. Bowman, had had a difficult childhood, and suffered from a learning disability so severe that he didn't learn to read until he was 17. He eventually got his G.E.D., married and later divorced, and started his own business. He was a well-known figure in his corner of Kalamazoo, where he served on the neighborhood watch and delivered food to neighbors who were elderly or on welfare.

"Tom wasn't a perfect person, but he tried, and his death has left a big hole," his brother Kenneth said.

Mr. Dawkins was convicted on nine counts, including felony murder. At the trial, Mr. Bowman's mother, Sharon Hilton, confronted him, and said that she forgave him despite the pain he had caused.

"Obviously it wasn't easy," Ms. Hilton, a devout Christian, said in a phone interview from her home in Crab Orchard, Tenn. Now, she feels pity for Mr. Dawkins more than anything, and said she was happy that he's found a purpose through writing. "I can't think of anything more horrific than having to spend your life in prison," she said.

## Commercial and Ethical Barriers

It's surprising how little contemporary fiction has emerged from American prisons. More than two million people in the United States are incarcerated, and many prisons have writing programs. PEN America runs a writing program that reaches more

than 20,000 prisoners. But very little contemporary prison literature is released by major publishing houses, which seldom consider writers who are not represented by agents and which may be wary of the logistical and ethical pitfalls of working with convicts.

In 1981, Random House published "In the Belly of the Beast," a collection of writing by Jack Henry Abbott, a convict who served time for bank robbery and other crimes. He was befriended by Norman Mailer, who lobbied for Mr. Abbott to go free. Shortly after his release, Mr. Abbott was arrested in New York for stabbing a waiter to death.

Prisoners are allowed to write and publish books under the First Amendment, so the barriers tend to be commercial and ethical rather than legal. In some states, convicts are prohibited from personally profiting from a work of nonfiction that describes their crimes, and money made from such works can be seized and put in a fund for victims or their families.

In 1991, the Supreme Court struck down New York's "Son of Sam" law, which barred convicted criminals from profiting by writing books or creating other forms of entertainment based on their crimes. The court determined that the law was too broad and violated free speech protections, ruling in favor of the plaintiff, Simon & Schuster, which had paid the convicted mobster Henry Hill to publish a book based on his life.

Scribner faces an awkward challenge in promoting "The Graybar Hotel." While early reviews have been largely positive, "some people have been scared off by his circumstances and have mixed feelings about supporting somebody who's committed the kind of crime that he has," Kathy Belden, Mr. Dawkins's editor, said.

Those who knew Mr. Dawkins in graduate school were shocked and unnerved by his crime. After his arrest, one of his former writing teachers, Ms. Gordon, reached out to Ms. Knutsen. No one wrote to Mr. Dawkins.

About a year after the trial, Ms. Knutsen and the children moved to Portland, Ore. She still speaks to Mr. Dawkins on the phone nearly every day and refers to him as her partner and best friend. She has never gotten over the shock of what happened.

"It's like a bomb that just keeps going off," she said.

Elijah, who just graduated from high school, suffered from acute anxiety and missed a year of middle school. Lily Rose, 16, was so distraught when the family last visited Mr. Dawkins three years ago that she wouldn't go in to see him. Henry, 22, remains close to Mr. Dawkins and speaks to him several times a week. He still has dreams about bumping into Mr. Dawkins in the grocery store, then wakes up and remembers that Mr. Dawkins will never get out of prison.

For the first 10 months he was incarcerated, Mr. Dawkins couldn't write. Jail was crowded and chaotic, and he felt suicidal. Once he got to quarantine, where he underwent psychological evaluations before being assigned to a prison, he wrote down the first line of his short story, "County," inspired by his experience when he was first incarcerated in the Kalamazoo County jail. Like Mr. Dawkins, the narrator suffers from opiate withdrawal and is considered a suicide risk.

Writing became an escape for Mr. Dawkins. "A part of me realized, if I'm going to live through this, I'm going to have to find a purpose," he said.

With an electric typewriter sent by his parents, he typed his stories and mailed them to his younger sister, who submitted them to literary magazines. Most of his queries were met with silence or rejection, but a few stories were published in small journals.

Last year, Jarrett Haley, the founder of a small literary magazine, Bull, gave a selection of the stories to a literary agent, Sandra Dijkstra. A few days after she signed Mr. Dawkins, Ms. Dijkstra sold the stories to Scribner for a low-six-figure advance; Mr. Dawkins's share goes into an education fund for his children.

Nan Graham, Scribner's senior vice president and publisher, said that when she first read the work, she was astonished that Mr. Dawkins had managed to create "such devastating stories out of tedium."

"There are a lot of people in prison who try to learn how to write, but there aren't very many people who go into prison with an M.F.A. and with the tool kit to write fiction," she said.

Mr. Dawkins — who is wiry, with short, thinning gray hair, a narrow face and watchful hazel eyes — comes across as a bookish introvert. During a two-and-a-half-hour interview at Lakeland Correctional Facility, he weighed his words carefully and appeared most at ease talking about the writers he admires — Thomas Pynchon, Don DeLillo, Lydia Davis, George Saunders, Joy Williams. He has the opening of Mr. Pynchon's "Gravity's Rainbow" tattooed across his chest: "A screaming comes across the sky. It has happened before, but there is nothing to compare it to now."

Recently, Mr. Dawkins has worked on a futuristic novel set in a massive, hivelike subterranean prison. The surreal setting seems to reflect something Mr. Dawkins still struggles with: the reality that he's probably never getting out.

"I don't know if I have come to terms with it," he said. "Sometimes, walking around the yard, I still catch myself thinking, How'd you end up here?"

The New York Times

## Where do you see yourself in five years?

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Doctor Killed in Hospital Attack Is Mourned as ‘Monumental Loss for Us’

By RICK ROJAS

She was not supposed to be working on Friday at Bronx-Lebanon Hospital Center, making afternoon rounds on the 17th floor. Dr. Tracy Sin-Yee Tam usually worked in a ground-level family medicine clinic, where she would treat patients from the hospital’s South Bronx neighborhood.

But those who knew Dr. Tam were not surprised to learn what she was doing inside the hospital when the authorities said a gunman, a disgruntled former doctor there, opened fire, killing Dr. Tam and wounding six others before killing himself.

Another doctor had needed his shift covered. Dr. Tam volunteered.

“She would never say no,” Jude Beckles-Ross, 46, a friend of Dr. Tam’s, said through tears on Sunday outside the doctor’s home in Queens.

She was early in her career, but Dr. Tam, 32, had already established a reputation for being caring and conscientious in a way that those around her found remarkable, even in a field built on caring for others that requires intense commitment.

Dr. Tam, whose father drives a taxi in Queens, had struggled to make it into medical school, but mentors and colleagues said she had plenty of options when she graduated. Again and again, she chose to work in demanding environments in neighborhoods of New York City where people had limited access to medical care, places that few young doctors enthusiastically pursue.

At Bronx-Lebanon, about 70 percent of the patients are on Medicaid, and physicians regularly assume a role that

*Reporting was contributed by Hannah Alani, Khorri Atkinson, Annie Correal, Luis Ferré-Sadurní, Elizabeth Tarbell and Vivian Wang.*



New York City police officers leaving Bronx-Lebanon Hospital Center on Friday after a disgruntled doctor killed one person and wounded six others.

goes beyond physical care, helping patients address family disputes or emotional issues, said Dr. Sridhar Chilimuri, Bronx-Lebanon’s physician in chief. The atmosphere can chip away at a young doctor’s idealism, he said, yet he was impressed by how strongly Dr. Tam, who had been an attending doctor at the hospital for a year, held fast to hers.

“Training young physicians to be doctors is an extraordinarily difficult thing,” Dr. Chilimuri said. “Making them idealistic, and also do exactly what we’re doing, is just impossible.” He added, “To lose somebody like that now is really a monumental loss for us.”

Dr. Tam was in one of the earliest classes to enroll at Touro College of Osteopathic Medicine, a medical school that had its first graduating class in 2011. The school occupies an old department store building in Harlem, across 125th Street from the Apollo Theater. Much of

the student body comes from New York City, said Martin Diamond, the college’s founding dean, and its mission is to recruit minorities into medicine and to train and encourage students to work in locations that were historically underserved.

Dr. Tam started at Touro in a master’s degree program, which provided a one-year window to make it into medical school, but required students to maintain a high grade-point average. “This was a good avenue for us,” said Jennifer Dorcé-Medard, a friend who practices family medicine in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. “A better chance and a second chance for us to achieve our dreams.”

Dr. Tam lived in Jamaica, Queens, Dr. Dorcé-Medard in Corona, so they would pair up for study sessions that went late into the night. The two made it into the medical school, a four-year program from which they both graduated in 2013.



Dr. Tracy Sin-Yee Tam

cine at Palisades Medical Center in North Bergen, N.J., and from there she moved to a clinic in Harlem, which placed her back in the kind of community she had sought to work in.

One memory of Dr. Tam sticks with Dr. Iyad Baker, who supervised her as program director during her residency: The family of a patient called after a visit to talk about her work. Often, he said, people called to complain. But in her case, they wanted to convey their gratitude.

“She was never above tucking her patients in at night,” Dr. Baker said. “She would come in even when her shift is over,” he added. “She’d ask the human thing, just what a good person would do: Can I get you a glass of water? Would you like me to get you a magazine? Things that are not very common to do in the field.”

Dr. Tam’s professors remembered her sweet smile and her politeness. Colleagues and friends said she was shy. Her commute, to New Jersey as a resident, and later to the Bronx, was a punishing one, a long way to travel from Queens.

One mentor, Dr. Naghma Burney, said that last year Dr. Tam spent what should have been a month off working with her in the hospital, hoping to learn more.

“The way she died was the way she lived,” said Shailee Udani, a physician in Manhattan who worked at Palisades

Dr. Dorcé-Medard recalled seeing Dr. Tam last year, as they were finishing their residencies. “Can you believe we did it?” she remembered telling her. “It was like we conquered something together.”

After Touro, Dr. Tam started her residency in family medicine at Palisades Medical Center in North Bergen, N.J., and from there she moved to a clinic in Harlem, which placed her back in the kind of community she had sought to work in.

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THE PATH OF A GUNMAN

Surveillance video and interviews with witnesses have uncovered details about the genesis of an assault. Page A18.

Medical Center.

Outside of medicine, her family was her focus. She lived with her parents, who immigrated from China, and her younger sister. On Sunday, friends and other doctors visited Dr. Tam’s home, a two-story brick house in the Hillcrest Estates neighborhood. Some left flowers on the front steps, while her family mostly stayed inside, avoiding visitors. A relative who answered the door on Sunday declined to talk to a reporter.

Liza Raza, her friend, said Dr. Tam was “just perfect, in terms of her humanity.”

Dr. Burney has held on to a note written in Dr. Tam’s swooping cursive, thanking her for her “exceptional influence.”

“You have no idea how much your patience and kindness have led the way to wanting me to be like you toward treating patients,” Dr. Tam wrote.

She said that Dr. Tam had told her that working at Bronx-Lebanon had brought her “so much satisfaction,” adding, “she told me, ‘They need help.’”

“What an end to a beautiful life,” Dr. Burney said. “She could have helped so many people out. She could have added so much to the community.”

Dr. Burney repeated a piece of advice she has often passed on to residents, that she felt Dr. Tam took to heart. “Patients don’t care how much you know,” Dr. Burney had told her, “they want to know how much you care.”

The next time she saw Dr. Tam pull out the small spiral notebook that many residents carry in their pockets, Dr. Burney noticed she had written the words across its cover.



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rev. Georgiette Morgan-Thomas, right, with a customer at the American Hats shop and factory in Philadelphia. Sales rose 40 percent in 2016 from 2015.

Harlem Woman Owned 100 Hats, So She Bought a Factory

‘The Hat Is Empowering.’  
A Business Decision Is Evidence.

By JEFFERY C. MAYS

The straw hat with ribbon and a silk flower slid easily on Zina Burton-Myrick’s head as she looked in the mirror, cocked her head to the side and then dipped her knees a bit to view herself from various angles. There was silence as everyone in the showroom in Harlem waited for the verdict.

“I’m feeling this. This is it,” said Ms. Burton-Myrick, 54, a representative for the United Federation of Teachers, who wanted a hat for a convention.

Nearby, the Rev. Georgiette Morgan-Thomas, who owns the showroom on Strivers’ Row and has been a part of the Harlem community for decades, gave a clap of approval before stepping in to make adjustments.

“The hat is empowering. If you go back and look at pictures of women in the suffragette movement they were all wearing hats,” Ms. Morgan-Thomas said. “It gives a woman good posture. When something is on your head, you hold your head up straight.”

Ms. Morgan-Thomas would know. She owns more than 100 hats and is known for never being seen without one. Though, at 68, she never expected to own a hat factory.

But in 2015, when her friend Harriet Rosebud, a hat designer, mentioned that the ailing S & S Hat Company in Philadelphia was for sale, Ms. Morgan-Thom-

as jumped at the opportunity.

“I just said, ‘I’ll buy it.’ Then I said, ‘What did I just say?’” Ms. Morgan-Thomas recalled at the factory in May.

She invested more than \$100,000 and took over in January 2016, renaming the factory American Hats.

“She just doesn’t say she likes hats — she lives it,” Ms. Rosebud said. “When she doesn’t wear a hat, people sometimes don’t recognize her. I’ve seen it happen.”

The company quickly lost a \$32,000 annual order, and a manager left. Ms. Morgan-Thomas, who had planned to handle only the managerial and marketing aspects, leaned on her employees to learn the basics.

“We weren’t taking over a business that was successful,” Ms. Morgan-Thomas’s only child, Robert Morgan III, 40, of Virginia Beach, said. “The business was declining, and it was a rehab project.”

Last year, the factory sold over 3,000 hats, ranging from \$90 to almost \$400, a 40 percent increase from 2015, Ms. Morgan-Thomas said.

The 18,000-square-foot factory was filled with racks of colorful hats. Broad-brimmed straw hats screamed summer. The small office at the factory was filled with hats that couldn’t fit in the showroom. There were large, purple Dr. Seuss-looking hats, often favored by women for church, and more subtle black

ones, most often worn for mourning.

Wearing a black short bucket hat with satin ribbon and a stingy brim, Ms. Morgan-Thomas negotiated sharply with suppliers over delivery dates but then took the time to give a customer suggestions.

“I don’t want anyone looking at you saying, ‘Who told you that looked good?’” Ms. Morgan-Thomas told the woman.

An employee popped in to ask whether a feather on a church hat for a regular customer should be replaced.

“That other feather looked a little too country,” Ms. Morgan-Thomas said. “It’s the little things that make our hats worth the money.”

In one corner of the factory, Nick Vega, 43, who has worked at the factory since he was 17, was shaping crowns. At a sewing machine, Lord Klot, 53, was sewing together 100-yard spools of crinoline and satin ribbon, a process known as rowing.

The S & S Hat Company began selling headgear in 1923 to boutiques and department stores. Many of the factory’s tools are so old that Mr. Vega has struggled to find parts to repair them.

“These hats are hard to do,” he said as he steamed hats on wooden molds using an iron. “You can’t buy these at Walmart.”

Hats are making a comeback as a fashion statement, said Ellen Christine Colon-Lugo, president of the Milliners Guild and owner of a millinery in Manhattan’s SoHo neighborhood. Women are wearing fedoras, and the Duchess of Cambridge has sparked interest by wearing fascinators.

“Hats now show up in fashion ads, and kids in design school are taking an interest in millinery,” Ms. Colon-Lugo said. “Anything that’s not a baseball cap helps me think the world is coming around to hats again.”

Ms. Morgan-Thomas said hats reminded her of growing up in Mobile, Ala., where her grandparents raised her. Her grandfather, a retired Pullman porter, owned two cars. Her grandmother worked to secure civil rights with groups like the National Council of Negro Women.

“The ladies would be dressed up and the food would be exquisite, and they always had their best china, best crystal and best hats,” Ms. Morgan-Thomas said. “The hat was a big part of being dressed.”

A part she adopted.

Ms. Morgan-Thomas retired in May as the director of Harlem services for the Goddard Riverside Community Center. She had planned to move to Virginia Beach to help take care of her granddaughter.

“I was surprised she’s running a factory, but I’m not surprised it’s a hat factory, because she loves hats,” said Sayeeda Mentor, 45, who took over for Ms. Morgan-Thomas in running two Goddard housing sites. “I’m not surprised she’s able to run a factory, because she has management skill for days.”

When the Goddard Riverside Community Center hired Ms. Morgan-Thomas in 1997 to run Corner House, a residence for older and formerly homeless and mentally ill adults at Edgecombe Avenue and 141st Street, she had to put those skills to use.

Two days after she arrived, there was a shootout in front of the building.

“I said, ‘We have to do something about this,’” she said.

Ms. Morgan-Thomas joined with Edgecombe Avenue residents. They bought four trees, and Corner House residents planted them. An annual Christmas tree lighting was followed by the creation of a play street that taught conflict resolution and brought the area to life, warding off drug trafficking.

Today, a “gentrified coffee shop” sits at Edgecombe and 142nd Street, and Ms. Mentor said it would not be there if Ms. Morgan-Thomas had not helped clean up the area.

All of that good will came in handy when Ms. Morgan-Thomas ran into financial trouble at the factory.

“I would see people and they would say, ‘Here’s \$100 for the factory,’” Ms. Morgan-Thomas said. “It wasn’t a big amount of money, but it was the sentiment that my community was behind me.”

And American Hats is on the upswing, she said. The company has begun selling hats under its own moniker and is branching into men’s hats and doll hats.

Now, Ms. Morgan-Thomas wants students to intern at her factory, and she eventually would like to open a second factory, in Harlem.

This month, teenagers from a Harlem summer jobs program will visit the factory to learn about hat-making.

“I want young people to learn this art. It went away, but now it’s coming back,” Ms. Morgan-Thomas said. “I’m glad because I just don’t feel comfortable without my hat.”



SIDE STREET

# For Two Veterans, a Freedom Restored for Independence Day

By DAVID GONZALEZ

This Fourth of July weekend, Fred Downs and Artie McAuley will treasure independence in ways most of us take for granted, like grabbing a soda from a table or reaching into a pocket to answer a cellphone. And though football season has yet to start, for the first time in nearly a half-century Mr. Downs will be able to raise both arms to celebrate a touchdown.

These simple, daily movements represent to them freedom in an intensely personal way: Both are Army veterans who lost part or all of an arm while in the service. Mr. McAuley, a platoon leader in Vietnam, lost his left arm just above the elbow when he stepped on a land mine during a firefight in 1968. Mr. Downs was assigned to an ordnance unit in upstate New York when a car accident cost him his left arm and part of the shoulder in 1969.

The men celebrated the start of the Independence Day weekend by becoming the first two recipients, according to the Department of Veterans Affairs, of a state-of-the-art robotic arm that uses computers, sensors and motors to give back to them the simple, but essential, functions they had lost in their youth. The arm — known as Life Under Kinetic Evolution or LUKE — is the result of an eight-year research project by the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (known as Darpa) and private companies. Unlike current prosthetics available for upper limb amputees, the LUKE arm allows for smooth and simultaneous movement using motors at the shoulder, elbow, wrist and hand to flex and turn or lift and grip.

“This is a life-changer,” David J. Shulkin, the secretary of Veterans Affairs, said in a telephone interview Friday, shortly before a



DAVID GONZALEZ/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fred Downs, one of the first recipients of a state-of-the-art prosthetic arm, on Friday. “This is freedom, let me tell you,” he said.

ceremony at the Manhattan V.A. hospital where the two veterans received their new arms. “Many people, including our first veterans being fitted today, are still using technology that was 40 years old, which is a hook mounted onto a piece of plastic. Now they can return to doing things like cooking, lifting up suitcases. It gives them a functionality they never had.”

Dr. Leif Nelson, who worked on the development of the LUKE arm, said that the number of

## Reclaiming essential functions with the help of a robotic arm.

people who had lost arms relative to those who had lost legs was too small to spur private research and development. That’s when Darpa, along with the Department of Veterans Affairs, funded studies to de-

velop the latest prosthesis. They in turn were able to enlist private companies, working with Dean Kamen, who invented the Seg-way.

Sensors, similar to the ones found in smartphones that automatically sense when the screen has been flipped, were strapped to a person’s feet, enabling arm control by moving the foot side to side or back and forth. And for those who had lost an entire arm, motors at shoulder level enabled people to lift their arms above

their head. The next step, Dr. Nelson said, was to develop on-skin sensors that would detect nerve signals and translate them into specific movements. “This is the first device that intuitively moves multiple joints at one time,” he said. “With other technology, you had to use the hand, then stop. Use the wrist, then stop. It wasn’t fluid.”

The arm, which will be commercially available through the manufacturer Mobius and sold to civilians too, will cost in the low

six figures, though pricing is being worked out, officials said. An initial order of 10 has been placed for veterans.

Mr. Downs and Mr. McAuley were chosen as recipients based on medical necessity and because they participated in the research that led to the LUKE arm’s development.

Mr. McAuley, 70, who lives in Richmond Hill, Queens, where he cares for his mother, spent most of his post-military life without a prosthetic arm. “I did one-armed stuff,” he said. “I tied my tie with one arm. I tied sneakers with one arm. I typed with one finger. I was strictly a one-sided person.”

He participated in Darpa’s research project, he said, not so much for himself but to help others. “It’s given me hope for the future,” he said. “It’s not that I want to be remembered, but I would like this to be an inspiration for people down the road.”

Mr. Downs, a former Veterans Affairs official who lives in Maryland and is now a consultant to the Paralyzed Veterans of America, had long used a hook arm. But his new prosthesis will finally let him do tasks that require greater dexterity or the ability to hold his hand close to his face.

The symbolism of getting his new arm this weekend was not lost on him.

“When you lose an upper extremity, you lose your independence, your ability to take care of yourself,” he said. “When you lose your independence, you lose somewhat of your dignity as a human being because you have to depend on others to comb your hair, go to the bathroom. With a prosthetic limb, your independence and dignity are returned to you. This is freedom, let me tell you. When I don’t have my arm on, I think I am disabled. But when I have this arm on, I don’t think I’m disabled.”

# With Beaches Empty, Christie Clings to a Last Fight

From Page A1

to remain closed at least through Monday. He sent a letter to lawmakers on Sunday demanding special legislative sessions on Monday morning. Also on Monday, Robert A. Marino, the chief executive of Horizon, was scheduled to meet with state officials in Trenton.

It may prove to be the final battle for a governor who for a time seemed to redefine what it meant to be brash in modern politics, at least until President Trump’s emergence as a political figure. It was a style that Mr. Christie thought would punch his ticket to the White House, but with his presidential dreams dashed, he appears nonetheless determined to end his last fight with a win.

New Jersey is one of at least nine states that failed to meet their July 1 budget deadline. That had an immediate effect on residents of three of the states — Illinois, Maine and New Jersey.

The other six states — Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Oregon, Rhode Island and Wisconsin — either have laws that maintain current spending levels or provide for stopgap measures in case of a budget impasse.

Officials said states without budgets would feel the full effects on Wednesday, after the Fourth of July holiday, when courts, motor-vehicle agencies and other state

Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting.

offices are to resume normal business. Monday is not a holiday, but because it falls between the weekend and the holiday, state officials expected less activity than usual.

In New Jersey, Mr. Christie’s longtime Democratic ally, Stephen M. Sweeney, the State Senate president, pushed through a bill on Thursday that would give state officials substantial authority to strip Horizon of reserves they deemed excessive. Mr. Christie had made clear that if the Horizon bill were not passed, he

## A dispute over taking an insurer’s money leads to a standoff.

would use his line-item veto to strike Democratic spending priorities from the budget, including school funding and social welfare programs, in effect rendering the budget useless.

New Jersey’s Constitution requires the government to cease spending on everything except public safety and emergency services if a budget is not signed by July 1, and so state parks closed on Saturday, and government offices were not expected to open on Monday. Thousands of workers have been furloughed, and Mr. Christie said they should not expect to receive back pay when a budget is ultimately approved.

After months of attacking Horizon and its leaders, Mr. Christie blamed the leader of the State Assembly, Vincent Prieto, a Democrat, for the shutdown. The governor’s office adorned buildings around the state with posters showing Mr. Prieto and a caption that said, “This Facility Is CLOSED Because of This Man.”

At a news conference on Sunday, Mr. Christie said Mr. Prieto’s suggestion that the Horizon bill should be considered after the passage of a budget was “a fake, phony offer.”

“I haven’t heard from Vinnie Prieto since Friday when he walked out of my office,” the governor said. “He’s the one who dug his heels in and drew a line in the sand.”

At his own news conference, Mr. Prieto said, “This Chris Christie shutdown, it’s atrocious. We’re in Chris Christie hostage crisis Day Two. We can’t keep government shut down. It’s unacceptable.”

Mr. Christie made clear during his news conference that he was not concerned with what anyone thought about the fact that he had enjoyed the holiday weekend at a governor’s residence in Island Beach State Park, a popular beach that was closed to his constituents as a result of the broader shutdown.

On Sunday, The Star-Ledger of New Jersey posted aerial photographs of Mr. Christie and his family sunning on the closed beach. Social media users expressed outrage. Beaches not run by the state were packed beyond capacity.

The paper said that when Christie was asked whether his use of the beach was fair, he replied, “Run for governor, and you can have a residence there.”

New Jersey’s government does not have a unique hold over Horizon. Mr. Christie has mentioned Horizon’s “charitable mission” and its nonprofit status, but the company is not a charity and does, in fact, pay taxes. It does not pay dividends; surpluses remain with the company.

The bill passed by the State Senate would make several changes to state law on the operation of health service corporations. (Horizon is the only such entity operating in New Jersey.) The bill would require Horizon to become an insurer of last resort, paying for the medical care of the state’s sickest and poorest residents. Horizon said that would mean that its customers would be forced to shoulder a burden that should be the government’s responsibility.

“We feel sorry for Governor Christie,” Kevin McArdle, Horizon’s public affairs manager, said in a statement. “In the twilight of his failed tenure, Governor Christie is resorting again to bullying and distortions to retaliate against Horizon’s 3.8 million policyholders for opposing his \$300 million reserve raid that has been called a shakedown and extortion.”

After his budget address in February, Mr. Christie escalated his public attacks on Horizon. Last month, he held an unusual news conference in which he an-



JOHN TAGGART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Chris Christie at a news conference on Sunday. He said he expected New Jersey’s government to be closed on Monday.

nounced that the state had levied fines of \$15.5 million against the insurer for incorrectly processing Medicaid claims. Horizon said it would challenge the findings.

In 2005, New Jersey Democrats toyed with raiding Horizon’s reserves but abandoned the move after the state treasurer said such a move would not withstand legal scrutiny. Horizon has not said whether it would challenge the current bill in court.

Horizon has said its reserves are within industry norms and are only enough to cover 75 days’ worth of claims for its members.

Mr. Christie’s effort to take some of the company’s reserves has been met with stark opposition, most vocally by conservative advocates of free-market principles and minimal government.

An editorial in The Wall Street

Journal called it “a tax and regulatory mugging masked as public charity.” Steve Forbes, the one-time presidential candidate, said it amounted to a “permanent backdoor tax increase” that “set a dangerous precedent for state government intrusion into the private marketplace.”

In Trenton on Sunday, Shawn Ludwig, the president of Communications Workers of America Local 1038, which represents about 3,000 state workers, called the Horizon situation a “made-up crisis.”

“It’s not a real crisis. The state’s not in real peril,” Mr. Ludwig said. “It’s one thing if the government is being shut down because they’re debating a budget. It’s another thing if the government is being shut down because they want a Horizon deal.”

## METROPOLITAN DIARY

DEAR DIARY: On one of the hottest days of the summer of 1999, three children got on an uptown No. 6 train with a boombox and an agenda. The oldest one said something in a loud voice that I didn’t quite hear because of my headphones, and then he squatted down and pressed play. The three of them commenced a choreographed dance routine that was most notable for how excruciatingly bad it was. There were awkward, robotic pop-locking moves; an unsanitary worm along the dusty linoleum; and an uninspired finale featuring Cirque du Soleil-lite pole maneuvers and unfortunate

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body contortions. Worst of all were the sad eyes on the youngest dancer, who looked exhausted and distracted.

When the number ended, they passed a hat. Riders gave them spare change and even a few bills. Then, as the boys counted their collection, a peddler walked through the car, catching their eyes with her flashing yo-yos and toy-cellphone noisemakers.

The boys approached the woman, asked her pointed questions about her inventory and then made their selections: three one-dollar, battery-operated fans, paid for with their recent earnings. The youngest dancer immediately tore into his and aimed the tiny fan at his perspiring face.

Rolling to a stop at my station, I noticed a mailman smiling. The man, also obviously dragging on a long, hot afternoon, looked down to the boy.

“You really earned that, didn’t you?” he said. “You really earned that.”

The boy, too tired to answer, looked up with just a bit more enthusiasm than he had shown when he was dancing. He turned

the fan toward the mailman to share a little cool relief on a very hot day.

Jeremy Glowacki

Dear Diary:

I owned one of the first restaurants in TriBeCa in the 1970s; it was called Riverrun Cafe and was on Franklin Street. One of our regular customers was the playwright Edward Albee.

Once a week, he would order our potpies to be delivered to his loft.

My bartender, Dan Llongo, was a tremendous Albee fan. But we had a policy of not getting personal with any of the famous people who came in.

Once, Dan asked whether he could say something to Mr. Albee the next time he called. We agreed that he could.

“Mr. Albee,” he said when the call came, “I just love your plays.”

“Thank you, sir,” the playwright said. “I just love your potpies!”

Joseph Distler

Dear Diary:

I was on an uptown No. 6 train.

A man who appeared to be in his 20s was on his cellphone making arrangements for his mother, who had either been hurt or died unexpectedly. I couldn’t quite hear the facts.

I heard him talking about going to a school to inform his younger siblings about the situation. He was calm and polite in his conversation, yet after ending the call, he started to weep quietly.

I wanted to reach out to him, perhaps to give him money to take a taxi home with the youngsters he was on his way to pick up. I hesitated, not wanting to spoil his dignity or intrude on his grief.

As the tears rolled down his cheeks, I turned to a young man next to me and told him how I felt. He got off at the next stop. As he got off the train, he gently handed the man a tissue.

Charlotte Fainblatt

Dear Diary:

There is a man across the courtyard whom I watch through his window.

I’ll be filling a glass of water at the kitchen sink when I see his

silhouette. A television screen the size of a wall illuminates him. The screen displays the bright green wallpaper, icons and start menu of a computer.

Sometimes, while I’m putting two servings of salmon in the oven to bake, I see Google search results blown up 10 or 20 times their normal size. I can’t quite read them, though. I do not know what the man is trying to find. I think he’s lonely, but it might be the screen that makes me think that.

My childhood home had a kind of emptiness that I might have been put on this earth to fill. This man seems single and childless. That means he has tried to cure the emptiness with something other than family and children.

Good for him.

Last night, I put four slices of bread in my toaster at once. It’s a double toaster. I live alone, but I thought it would be good for guests. It has been good for

toasting lots of bread.

I climbed out the window onto the fire escape to wait for the bread to brown, and I realized I was waiting for two things: the toast and the man.

Hayley Hudson

Dear Diary:

Scene: A full uptown No. 1 train on a weekday afternoon several years ago.

The passengers include a young man with many visible tattoos, wearing leather with chains and studs and sporting a bright green mohawk. He is holding on to a pole and perusing his cellphone.

He turns quickly and snarls loudly, “What are you looking at?”

The passengers follow his gaze toward a small, sweet-looking girl.

“You,” she says, smiling. “I like your hair. You look pretty!”

Christine Contillo

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# Opinion

The New York Times

## EDITORIALS

## Bank Health, Imperiled

In the first systemwide all-clear since the financial crisis, the Federal Reserve announced last week that all of the nation’s big banks are healthy.

Hold the applause. The banks are certainly healthier now than they were in 2011, when the Fed began annual “stress tests” to assess their ability to withstand financial and economic downturns. But to the extent they are healthy, credit belongs in large part to banking reforms enacted after the crisis. And it is precisely those reforms that are now in the cross hairs of the Trump administration.

**Bank health has improved since 2011, when the Federal Reserve began its stress tests, but deregulation threatens the progress.**

The reforms were aimed at improving lending standards, restricting trading practices and strengthening capital requirements. Better loan standards and less trading have kept banks away from the reckless practices that precipitated the crash, while more capital helps to ensure that the banks can absorb any losses that may occur.

A more stable financial system and greater protection against economically ruinous booms and busts have resulted.

But these vital measures are all under attack by the Trump administration and the Republican-controlled Congress. The stated rationale, expressed most recently in a report by the Treasury Department, is that regulation has impeded bank lending and, by extension, economic growth.

That’s wrong. Bank lending has expanded at a decent pace in recent years; economic growth has suffered largely from Congress’s failure to provide fiscal support. What the banks and their enablers in the administration and Congress want is a return to the days when excessive risk-

taking led to outsize profits. They want to turn back the clock by rolling back the rules.

History tells us that things won’t end well if that happens. Deregulation led to the financial crash in 2008. It’s safe to assume that repeating the mistake will lead to the same result.

Knee-jerk deregulation is not the only threat to financial stability. It’s entirely possible that the system is more fragile than the Fed’s stress tests indicate. By the Fed’s calculations, capital held by the nation’s eight largest banks was nearly 14 percent of assets, weighted by risk, at the end of 2016.

Alternative calculations of capital, including those that use international accounting rules rather than American accounting principles, put the capital cushion much lower, at 6.3 percent. The difference is largely attributable to regulators’ differing assessment of the risks posed by derivatives, the complex instruments that blew up in the financial crisis and that still are a major part of the holdings of big American banks.

The passing grades on the Fed’s stress tests pave the way for banks to pay their largest dividends in almost a decade. The hands-down winners will be shareholders and bank executives, who could see their stock-based compensation packages expand further.

But without continued bank regulation, and heightened vigilance of derivatives in particular, the good fortune of bank investors and bank executives is all too likely to come at the expense of most Americans, who do not share in bank profits but suffer severe and often irreversible setbacks when deregulation leads to a bust.

It has happened before.

## LETTERS

## Canada’s Immigration Door, and Ours

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “How Immigration Helps Canada,” by Jonathan Tepperman (Op-Ed, June 28):

My grandparents had no special skills when they came to this country. They were poor and uneducated. They came from Russia and Poland because their religion limited their opportunities and put them at risk of death. Their children went to public schools and universities in New York and prospered.

I would like to think that our family has been an asset to this country. The Canadian immigration system, favored by Mr. Tepperman, is rational but cold and selfish. We welcome immigrants and refugees because that is what a decent, moral society does.

We should ask those who are fleeing abuse and death not what they can do for us, but what we can do for them.

KEITH S. HELLER, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

Lest Jonathan Tepperman become too smug and self-righteous in extolling Canada’s immigration policy, he would do well to examine Canada’s sins.

Canada’s shameful attitude toward the immigration of Jews from Europe into Canada during the years 1933 to 1948 is best summed up by Irving M. Abella and Harold M. Troper in their book “None Is Too Many.” The title says it all.

(RABBI) SHAWN B. ZELL, DALLAS

TO THE EDITOR:

“Canada Shows How to Thwart a Populist Tide” (The Interpreter, front page, June 27) asserts that

Canada has resisted the populist, anti-immigrant wave in the United States “through a set of strategic decisions, powerful institutional incentives, strong minority coalitions and idiosyncratic circumstances.”

But couldn’t the simple fact that Canada has a lower population density than the United States be more of a factor in Canadians’ greater willingness to allow immigrants compared with the United States?

This could also explain why, across the pond, the English were more receptive to anti-immigrant sentiment and a majority of them voted for Brexit, while a majority of Scots voted against.

According to Eurostat data from 2012, England has a population density of 407 residents per square kilometer, while Scotland has a density of 68.

PETER HOMANS, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

Your Interpreter column identifies some of the ways in which Canada’s political parties have fostered multiculturalism and undermined the bases of anti-immigrant populism. Other factors also shape Canada’s political liberalism.

Canada has a generous social welfare system, and a far higher fraction of the population belongs to labor unions than in the United States. Government programs and unions both build economic security, which greatly lessens the economic anxiety that led to Brexit and Donald Trump’s election victories.

RICHARD LACHMANN, NEW YORK

*The writer is a professor of sociology at the University at Albany.*

## Beyond the Stereotype: The Nurse Is a Man

TO THE EDITOR:

The online headline for a Sunday Review news analysis on June 25 was “Men Don’t Want to Be Nurses. Their Wives Agree.”

I can say that after 40 years nursing continues to be a fulfilling profession, and my wife agrees. My son, my soon-to-be son-in-law and my nephew value their decision to become nurses, as do their spouses.

Men should look at nursing as a

career choice that provides security while offering a continuously rewarding opportunity in specialties like palliative, primary, trauma and critical care, where nurses ease suffering and make a true difference in people’s lives.

DAVID VLAHOV, SAN FRANCISCO

*The writer is a professor of nursing and associate dean for research at the Yale School of Nursing.*

TO THE EDITOR:

Here is the perspective of a wife who is actually married to a male nurse.

My husband exudes masculinity when I watch him work in the emergency department. He is a thinker, a leader and a doer. He embraces his role and title as a registered nurse. Luckily, so do other men in nursing.

My husband left his job in corporate America to pursue a career in nursing. Not for the money, although he makes well over \$100,000 a year, but to come home every day knowing that he saved a life.

Nurses care for people in their most vulnerable states, while solving problems, acting quickly under extreme pressure and thinking outside the box.

I’m proud of my husband — my husband, the nurse.

MOLLY S. SPURLOCK, OAK PARK, ILL.

## Europe’s Deadly Paralysis on Migration

With summer’s warmer weather and calmer seas, tens of thousands of desperate migrants are setting out for Europe from Libya, once again overwhelming the capacity of rescue efforts on the Mediterranean and straining the ability of Italy to cope. Between Jan. 1 and June 21, some 72,000 migrants arrived in Italy from Libya. More than 2,000 other people died while on the way.

The conditions in Africa — deadly conflicts, despotic rulers and extreme poverty — that send people across the Sahara and into the chaos of Libya are only getting worse. In Libya, human traffickers await to enslave, beat, torture and rape the migrants before sending them out to sea. It would be unconscionable for the United States to cut humanitarian aid to Africa now, as the Trump administration is threatening.

Meanwhile, Italy has effectively been turned into a holding pen for migrants by the European Union’s Dublin Regulation, which requires asylum seekers to file their claims and await the outcome in the European country where they first arrive. Fewer than 21,000 of the 160,000 people already in Italy and Greece whom other European Union nations agreed to take in 2015 have been relocated. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic are flatly refusing to participate, despite a threat of fines.

People who try to push on from Italy into France face police officers wielding tear gas at the border. Those who do



make it across find a country unprepared for their arrival: Nearly 1,200 are now sleeping on bare ground in the neighborhood of La Chapelle on the northern edge of Paris, where temporary shelters for migrants are full. Hundreds of others, intent on reaching Britain, live in squalor in Calais, where the infamous migrant camp known as “the Jungle” was razed last year.

Last Monday, a French court ruled that local officials must provide drinking water for migrants, though it declined to order that they provide shelter. The government of President Emmanuel Macron promises a comprehensive plan on migrants in the next two weeks. It cannot come

soon enough.

After at least 11,000 and possibly many more people reached Italy’s shores in the past week, the government said it was considering blocking the country’s ports to foreign-flagged ships carrying migrants. Europe’s migration commissioner, Dimitris Avramopoulos, responded that it was time for member countries to step up to this human crisis: “Now is the moment to deliver, and we will hold them to this.”

The fact is, Europe has no other option. As Federico Soda, an official of the International Organization for Migration, observed: “Africa and Europe are always going to be neighbors. Movement of people between the two is just a reality of the coming decade.”

EDITORIAL OBSERVER JESSE WEGMAN

## After 58 Years, a ‘Stranger’ Says Goodbye to the Supreme Court

There have been 113 Supreme Court justices in American history. Lyle Denniston has reported on 31 of them — more than one in four. “My wife and I ran a calculation,” Mr. Denniston said the other day, speaking by phone from his home in Prince George’s County, Md., a 30-minute drive from the court.

That’s about as far as Mr. Denniston, who is generally uncomfortable in even a dim spotlight, will go in acknowledging the scope of his own achievement. He retired last week after covering the court for 58 years — the longest run, by far, in a beat known for lengthy tenures.

When he started, in 1958, the court’s momentous school-desegregation ruling in Brown v. Board of Education was only a few years old, and so was the current chief justice, John Roberts Jr. Roe v. Wade was 15 years away; Bush v. Gore nearly half a century. Correspondents sitting in the courtroom sent the morning’s opinions through pneumatic tubes to reporters downstairs in the press room. “That was a real challenge on a day when it was a fat opinion,” Mr. Denniston said.

With less than an hour to file after rulings came down, he composed his reports in his head and dictated them, in

full, over the phone.

During his years on the beat, he has written for The Wall Street Journal, the now-defunct Washington Star, The Baltimore Sun and The Boston Globe. Since 2004, he has been the lead reporter for SCOTUSblog, where his clear, rigorous and scrupulously fair-minded posts on oral arguments and opinions quickly became required reading for devoted court watchers around the country.

“I never met anybody who worked harder,” Tom Goldstein, SCOTUSblog’s founder and publisher, said.

Mr. Denniston keeps a physical copy of every article he has ever written. Asked to put a number on it, he demurred. “I’ve been very prolific,” he said matter-of-factly; six decades of work eliminates any impulse toward exaggeration or false modesty. At this point, weight is the more relevant measure anyway.

When he left The Sun in 2001, he brought home six six-drawer file cabinets and 73 boxes of his clippings. The number of boxes has since doubled. He stored everything in the loft of a barn at the back of his property until his son Alan, an architect, warned him not to add any more.

“My basement is now in the same condition as my barn,” he said, “and my office looks about like my basement.”

At 86, Mr. Denniston exercises almost every day, a regimen he credits with delivering him through various physical

**His clear, rigorous and scrupulously fair-minded writings on oral arguments and opinions have been required reading.**

setbacks: a life-threatening blood clot that developed in his leg after weeks of sitting in courtrooms covering the Pentagon Papers litigation in the early 1970s; a heart attack in 1996. But a difficult recovery from

major spinal surgery last winter persuaded him and his wife, Pamela, that it was time to stop for good.

If the job of Supreme Court correspondent requires an immense amount of preparation, it also offers a predictable and mostly orderly process that Mr. Denniston says is crucial to doing the work well. When I started at The Times, I often found myself, by luck, seated next to him during oral arguments. From our cramped alcove on the side of the courtroom, we could see only a





CHARLES M. BLOW

# The Hijacked American Presidency

EVERY NOW AND THEN we are going to have to do this: Step back from the daily onslaughts of insanity emanating from Donald Trump's parasitic presidency and remind ourselves of the obscenity of it all, registering its magnitude in its full, devastating truth.

There is something insidious and corrosive about trying to evaluate the severity of every offense, trying to give each an individual grade on the scale of absurdity. Trump himself is the offense. Everything that springs from him, every person who supports him, every staffer who shields him, every legislator who defends him, is an offense. Every partisan who uses him — against all he or she has ever claimed to champion — to advance a political agenda and, in so doing, places party over country, is an offense.

We must remind ourselves that Trump's very presence in the White House defiles it and the institution of the presidency. Rather than rising to the honor of the office, Trump has lowered the office with his whiny, fragile, vindictive pettiness.

The presidency has been hijacked.

Last week, when Donald Trump attacked two MSNBC hosts, people were aghast. The condemnation came quickly and from all quarters.

But his words shouldn't have shocked. His tweet was just another pebble on a mountain of vulgarities. This act of coarseness was in fact an act of continuity. Trump was being Trump: the grossest of the gross, a profanity against propriety.

This latest episode is simply part of a body of work demonstrating the man's utter contempt for decency. We all know what it will add up to: nothing.

Republicans have bound themselves up with Trump. His fate is their fate. They have surrendered any moral authority to

*A madman and his legislative minions are holding America hostage.*

which they once laid claim — rightly or not. If Trump goes down, they all do.

It's all quite odd, this moral impotence, this covering before the belligerent, would-be king. A madman and his legislative minions are holding America hostage.

There are no new words to express it; there is no new and novel way to catalog it. It is what it is and has been from day one: the most extraordinary and profound electoral mistake America has made in our lifetimes and possibly ever.

We must say without ceasing, and without growing weary by the redundancy, that what we are witnessing is not normal and cannot go unchallenged. We must reaffirm our commitment to resistance. We must always remember that although individual Americans made the choice to vote affirmatively for him or actively withhold their support from his opponent, those decisions were influenced in ways we cannot calculate by Russian interference in our election, designed to privilege Trump.

We must remember that we now have a president exerting power to which he may only have access because a foreign power hostile to our interests wanted him installed. We must remember that he has not only praised that foreign power, he has proven mysteriously averse to condemning it or even acknowledging its meddling.

We must remember that there are multiple investigations ongoing about the degree of that interference in our election — including a criminal investigation — and that those investigations are not constrained to collusion and are far from fake news. These investigations are deadly serious, are about protecting the integrity of our elections and the sovereignty of our country and are about a genuine quest for truth and desire for justice.

Every action by this administration is an effort to push forward the appearance of normality, to squelch scrutiny, to diminish the authority and credibility of the ongoing investigations.

Last week, after a growing list of states publicly refused to hand over sensitive voter information to Trump's ironic and quixotic election integrity commission, White House spokeswoman Sarah Huckabee Sanders blasted the pushback as a “political stunt.”

But in fact the commission itself is the political stunt. The committee is searching for an illegal voting problem that doesn't exist. Trump simply lied when he said that he would have won the popular vote were it not for millions of illegal votes. And then he established this bogus commission — using taxpayer money — to search for a truth that doesn't exist, to try to prove right a lie that he should never have told.

This commission is classic Trump projection: There is a real problem with the integrity of our last election because the Russians helped power his win, but rather than deal with that very real attack on this country, he is instead tilting at windmills concerning in-person voter fraud.

Last week, CNN reported: “The Trump administration has taken no public steps to punish Russia for its interference in the 2016 election. Multiple senior administration officials said there are few signs the president is devoting his time or attention to the ongoing election-related cyber threat from Russia.”

Donald Trump is depending on people's fatigue. He is banking on your becoming overwhelmed by his never-ending antics. He is counting on his capacity to wear down the resistance by sheer force.

We must be adamant that that will never come to pass. Trump is an abomination, and a cancer on the country, and none of us can rest until he is no longer holding the reins of power. □



DALBERT B. VILARINO

# Democracy Without Politics

KJ Dell’Antonia  
LYME, N.H.

THE scene: town meeting day. The agenda: articles and ordinances, warrant items and budgets. The plan (unchanged since the days when people arrived on horseback): to debate and vote on matters of concern to citizens.

In our town of about 1,700 people, more than 300 gathered in the school, juggling ballots, babies, needlework projects and plates of Thai food. In the days before the meeting, we'd received three pieces of paper mail, one urging us to vote against a zoning proposal, the other against rerouting a road, and the third introducing a candidate for the position of tax collector (salary: \$10,110).

Our email inboxes, though, were stuffed. Our town listserve is usually a glorious cacophony of items for sale (dish set, child's cross-country skis), requests for rides (“anyone going to Logan Saturday morning?”) and announcements of interest (“Brown Bag Lunch discussion of tick-borne diseases”). The online debate about the meeting had been fierce. This year's votes mattered. But then, I can't remember a year when they didn't.

I walked in a little late, just in time to vote — aye — on a new road grader (\$329,700). Then we turned to the rerouting debate. A piece of what had been a through-road had been washed out in a storm, leaving around 40 families on the wrong side. To get to them, emergency vehicles and the school bus had to take a detour through the next town. The proposal to reroute the road involved a substantial sum of money and the taking, by eminent domain, of land belonging to a farmer who strongly opposed the whole thing.

Speakers identified themselves by name and address. If they were new in

town (a matter of some 10 years or less) they added an identifying phrase (“the old Hano house”) to clarify. There were slides, there were questions, there was some humor. Those opposed to the rerouting said it would disturb a wildlife corridor; a property owner on the wrong side declared that he was “wild, alive and in need of a corridor.”

To figure out where you stood on the issue, you had a few options. You could read the arguments in your various mailboxes. You could bring it up at school trivia night, maybe, and hear what people thought. Or you could make a gut call. Those are valid ways people decide things.

Here's what you couldn't do: You couldn't rely on some vaguely understood, loudly articulated party line. There was no conservative or liberal, no

*The small-town question: What do we owe our neighbors?*

Republican or Democratic side to the road rerouting debate. There was just a problem that a community needed to resolve.

Americans are fond of saying that all politics is local, but the thing is, when it's local, it's not “politics” at all — at least not as we've come to understand it. That \$329,700 road grader? I could figure out to the penny what part of it I paid for. And every time our dirt road frost-heaves itself into disastrous lumps next winter, I'll know it was worth it. But our friends on the paved part of the road? Maybe they thought we could live without a new grader.

That's the way it goes in a small town. The money comes in — from taxes, mostly, although in 2015 we apparently

made \$169.50 from the use of the town copy machine. And the money goes out — salt for the roads, fire truck maintenance, toner. You can count it, feel it.

Many of the people who were surprised by the result of the last national election have invested considerable time in trying to understand the differences in opinion that led up to it. They've read, debated and posted about how little Americans understand one another. But you're far more likely to learn about the ways people who share any community can differ if you leave your laptop at home and go to the equivalent of your local town meeting. New Hampshire's brand of direct democracy may be rare outside of New England, but there are neighborhood associations, school boards, City Councils and public hearings all across the country.

You may think “we're all pretty much alike here in my part of the bubble.” But you're not. You don't all have school-aged children, you don't all live on a dirt road, some of you are on the wrong side of the washed-out culvert. Those differences force us to ask the small questions that are also the big questions, the ones that help us figure out what connects us together as a town or a state or a country. What do we owe our neighbors? How do we value that which is not of direct value to us? Who gets to decide? The answers aren't color-coded in red or blue.

You learn pretty quickly that if you don't treat every washed-out road as though it were your own, you may not like what happens when it is.

The rerouting of the road passed, by a vote of 161 to 148. So there will be a road, there will not be farmland, this time. Next time, there will be another debate. □

KJ DELL'ANTONIA is a freelance writer and former columnist and editor for *The Times's Well Family*.

# In Chicago, the Trains Do Run on Time

Rahm Emanuel  
CHICAGO

ON Thursday, in the wake of a subway derailment and an epidemic of train delays, Gov. Andrew Cuomo of New York declared a state of emergency for the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, the busiest mass transit system in America. That same day, the nation's third-busiest system — the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority — handed out coupons for free coffee to riders stuck in the second year of slowdowns caused by repairs to prevent chronic fires.

Meanwhile, in Chicago, a recent survey found that 85 percent of passengers are satisfied with service on our transit system, the nation's second most used.

The L, Chicago's system, turned 125 this year. The elevated railway began as four wooden cars powered by coal and steam. Last year, more than 238 million rides were taken on the system, which, unlike the ones in New York and Washington, has not been troubled by systemic failures, breakdowns and delays. Even during a 28-day stretch of arctic temperatures in 2014, the L was never interrupted.

How have we done it? First, we put reliability ahead of expansion. We focused relentlessly on modernizing tracks, signals, switches, stations and cars before extending lines to new destinations. Unlike New York, which has spent billions to reach Hudson Yards, or Washington, which has concentrated on trying to reach Dulles Airport (both laudable projects), Chicago has improved the existing system.

Today, four of our seven rail lines are being completely rebuilt. By 2019, 40 stations will be reconstructed or brand new, and half of our tracks will be new. Chicago is the largest city in North America to offer 4G wireless throughout its system, and last month we broke ground on a factory that will manufacture the most modern fleet of rail cars in the country,

the first cars to be built in Chicago since the historic Pullman factory closed in 1982.

When the L's \$8.5 billion modernization is complete, Chicago will be able to run about 15 more trains every hour on our busiest lines, cut 10 minutes off a trip from downtown to O'Hare Airport and have trains run as fast as 55 m.p.h.

Second, our management structure works. Chicago riders have closer contact with the person whose job it is to make the trains run on time: the mayor. In New York City, it is the governor in Albany. In Washington, it is an agency consisting of officials from the city, two states and the federal government.

While there is no one-size-fits-all model, I am confident local control is essential to Chicago's transit success. It strengthens accountability, focuses pri-

*Spending money on the basics makes a difference.*

orities and ensures the people most directly affected by decisions have more of a voice in making those tough decisions.

But even though we're doing our best, Chicago — like every municipal transit authority — needs federal support.

Rather than tweeting about violence in Chicago, President Trump should be looking to Chicago as a model for the infrastructure investments and economic growth he wants to replicate across the country. Instead of embarking on his wrongheaded plan to privatize infrastructure construction, he should expand existing programs that have used local-federal partnerships to build transportation systems.

Chicago has modernized its system thanks in part to the Federal Transit Administration's Core Capacity Improvement Program, which funds upgrades to existing corridors that are at or over ca-

capacity today, or will be in five years. Congress should double funding for the program to allow America's busiest mass transit systems to meet rising demand. It should also expand the low-interest federal infrastructure loans that have helped Chicago to rebuild rail lines and airports, and to create the downtown Riverwalk.

And Washington should increase the portion of the Highway Trust Fund that supports mass transit to 25 percent, while also raising the gas tax by 10 cents. Yes, Americans would pay more at the pump, but it is a smarter alternative than the Trump administration's privatization plan, under which we will all pay more in tolls and fees to the private investors who would own our roads and bridges.

Finally, local governments should look to innovative financing mechanisms like special taxing districts, known as TIFs — an idea Chicago borrowed from New York — to use growth in property taxes to finance transit improvements. Today we are using TIFs to match federal resources and modernize Chicago's busiest rail lines.

Cities with reliable, modern mass transit are more economically competitive, have higher productivity, fewer carbon emissions and a better quality of life. And as we have seen in Chicago, mass transit not only connects people to opportunities, it also fuels growth. Modernizing our existing mass transit is one reason Chicago's economy has expanded faster than the economies of New York and Washington, and faster than the national average for the last five years.

When Chicago's elevated train first soared above the streets and between the skyscrapers 125 years ago, it captured the imagination of Americans and visitors from around the world who rode its wooden cars to the 1893 World's Fair. It's a lesson for us all: The only way to keep a city moving is to invest in its future. □

RAHM EMANUEL is the mayor of Chicago.

PAUL KRUGMAN

# Oh! What A Lovely Trade War

REMEMBER WHEN Donald Trump declared that “nobody knew that health care could be so complicated”? It was a rare moment of self-awareness for the tweeter-in-chief: He may, briefly, have realized that he had no idea what he was doing.

Actually, though, health care isn't all that complicated. And Republican “reform” plans are brutally simple — with the emphasis on “brutally.”

Trump may be the only person in Washington who doesn't grasp their essence: Take health insurance away from tens of millions so you can give the rich a tax cut.

Some policy subjects, on the other hand, really are complicated. One of these subjects is international trade. And the great danger here isn't simply that Trump doesn't understand the issues. Worse, he doesn't know what he doesn't know.

According to the news site Axios, Trump, supported by his inner circle of America Firsters, is “hell-bent” on imposing punitive tariffs on imports of steel and possibly other products, despite opposition from most of his cabinet. After all, claims that other countries are taking advantage of America were a central theme of his campaign.

And Axios reports that the White House believes that Trump's base “likes the idea” of a trade war, and “will love the fight.”

Yep, that's a great way to make policy. O.K., so what's complicated about trade policy?

First, a lot of modern trade is in intermediate goods — stuff that is used to make other stuff. A tariff on steel helps steel producers, but it hurts downstream steel consumers like the auto industry.

*Hey, let's do something stupid to please the base.*

So even the direct impact of protectionism on jobs is unclear.

Then there are the indirect effects, which mean that any job gains in an industry protected by tariffs must be compared with job losses elsewhere. Normally, in fact, trade and trade policy have little if any effect on total employment. They affect what kinds of jobs we have; but the total number, not so much.

Suppose that Trump were to impose tariffs on a wide range of goods — say, the 10 percent across-the-board tariff that was floated before he took office. This would directly benefit industries that compete with imports, but that's not the end of the story.

Even if we ignore the damage to industries that use imported inputs, any direct job creation from new tariffs would be offset by indirect job destruction. The Federal Reserve, fearing inflationary pressure, would raise interest rates. This would squeeze sectors like housing; it would also strengthen the dollar, hurting U.S. exports.

Claims that protectionism would inevitably cause a recession are overblown, but there's every reason to believe that these indirect effects would eliminate any net job creation.

Then there's the response of other countries. International trade is governed by rules — rules America helped put in place. If we start breaking those rules, others will too, both in retaliation and in simple emulation. That's what people mean when they talk about a trade war.

And it's foolish to imagine that America would “win” such a war. For one thing, we are far from being a dominant superpower in world trade — the European Union is just as big a player, and capable of effective retaliation (as the Bush administration learned when it put tariffs on steel back in 2002). Anyway, trade isn't about winning and losing; it generally makes both sides of the deal richer, and a trade war usually hurts all the countries involved.

I'm not making a purist case for free trade here. Rapid growth in globalization has hurt some American workers, and an import surge after 2000 disrupted industries and communities. But a Trumpist trade war would only exacerbate the damage, for a couple of reasons.

One is that globalization has already happened, and U.S. industries are now embedded in a web of international transactions. So a trade war would disrupt communities the same way that rising trade did in the past. There's an old joke about a motorist who runs over a pedestrian, then tries to fix the damage by backing up — running over the victim a second time. Trumpist trade policy would be like that.

Also, the tariffs now being proposed would boost capital-intensive industries that employ relatively few workers per dollar of sales; these tariffs would, if anything, further tilt the distribution of income against labor.

So will Trump actually go through with this? He might. After all, he posed as a populist during the campaign, but his entire economic agenda so far has been standard Republican fare, rewarding corporations and the rich while hurting workers.

So the base might indeed like to see something that sounds more like the guy they thought they were voting for.

But Trump's promises on trade, while unorthodox, were just as fraudulent as his promises on health care. In this area, as in, well, everything, he has no idea what he's talking about. And his ignorance-based policy won't end well. □



# Details Arise In Shooting At a Hospital In the Bronx

By ANNIE CORREAL and WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM

As the police in New York continued investigating a deadly shooting at a Bronx hospital, chilling details emerged about how the gunman had stormed into his one-time workplace and shot seven people on Friday, killing one, before taking his own life.

A police official said the preliminary investigation showed how the gunman, Dr. Henry Bello, had entered Bronx-Lebanon Hospital Center and opened fire, believing that his co-workers had played a role in his termination in 2015.

On Friday, a surveillance camera captured Dr. Bello entering the hospital through a rear entrance on Selwyn Avenue in a white lab coat with a hooded sweatshirt underneath it, covering his head, said the police official, who was not authorized to discuss the case publicly. He carried a cardboard box large enough to conceal a rifle.

Dr. Bello headed to the 16th and 17th floors. A nurse on the 16th floor told the police he exchanged smiles with her before confronting a doctor. The nurse said Dr. Bello shouted at the doctor to “Come here.”

When the doctor refused, Dr. Bello pulled out his rifle and started firing, the police official said. That doctor told investigators Dr. Bello seemed agitated as he drew the gun and said to him, “Why didn’t you help me out when I was getting in trouble?”

That doctor recalled pulling out his cellphone to call 911, and Dr. Bello ordering him to put the phone down. Then he started firing, missing the doctor but wounding several others.

“There was blood everywhere,” the official said of the scene. The police official said the doctor who was fatally shot on the 17th floor, Tracy Sin-Yee



Dr. Henry Bello

Tam, 32, had been hit in the wrist by a bullet, but it had ricocheted off the bone and traveled up her arm and into her armpit. Another police official said she may have also been shot in the abdomen. The New York City medical examiner’s office has not yet made public the cause of death; an autopsy was performed but the findings are still being reviewed.

Of the six people wounded in the shooting, two had been transferred to Mount Sinai Hospital by Sunday and remained in critical but stable condition. They had injuries to the brain and liver. Four patients remained at Bronx-Lebanon, where they were in stable condition. They were medical residents, a medical student and a patient. They were recovering from injuries to the abdomen, neck, thigh and hand, hospital officials said.

Dr. Bello, 45, had resigned after an accusation of workplace sexual harassment and other disruptions in 2015. He accused one doctor in particular of encouraging colleagues to complain about him, which he believed led to his departure, the police official said. According to hospital officials, that doctor worked on the 16th and 17th floors but was not in the hospital on the day of the shooting.

That doctor told investigators that Dr. Bello was a “belligerent person,” according to the police official. He said Dr. Bello had accused him of trying to get him fired, and sent him an email “congratulating” him on his supposed efforts. Dr. Bello sent a letter to The Daily News hours before his rampage, repeating those claims.

The hospital, however, told the police that Dr. Bello had resigned when he learned he was going to be fired.

Dr. Sridhar Chilimuri, the hospital’s physician in chief, said Dr. Bello often had problems with staff members. “Nobody targeted him,” he said. “He’s just an individual who’s out to harm people.”

The nurse who had seen Dr. Bello arrive on the 16th floor told investigators she hid behind a workstation as shots were fired. When she raised her head, the police official said, she saw Dr. Bello pouring liquid on the floor from a plastic container he appeared to have taken from his coat. As he ignited it, the hospital’s sprinklers began pouring water.

Witness accounts indicated that Dr. Bello may also have set himself on fire.

At Dr. Bello’s home in the Bronx, investigators recovered the box the rifle had been in when he bought it. The gun was shipped from its manufacturer to a gun store in Schenectady, N.Y., where the police official said investigators believe that Dr. Bello purchased it on June 20, 10 days before the shooting.

Hannah Alani and Vivian Wang contributed reporting.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY CENCOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joe Sinnott in his studio in Saugerties, N.Y. He was drawing Marvel superheroes even before Peter Parker was bitten and still inks the Spider-Man strip for Sundays.

## Spider-Man and His Inker: Wrists Still Going Strong

### Webs Spun in Air And Put on Paper For Five Decades

By PAUL POST

SAUGERTIES, N.Y. — Joe Sinnott says spider webs drive him crazy, even though he has been drawing them for over 50 years for one of the world’s most famous superheroes.

“They’ve got to be so accurate, and they’ve got to be the same all the time,” he said. “It takes me about three days to do two pages.”

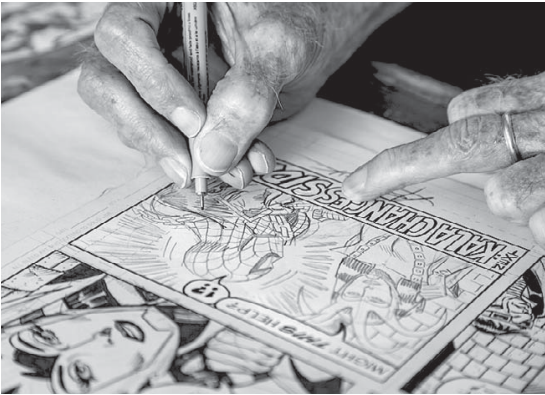
At 90, Mr. Sinnott still brings to life the action tales spun by Stan Lee, the co-creator of Spider-Man, continuing a collaboration begun in 1950 when Mr. Sinnott first went to work for Mr. Lee at what later became Marvel Comics. “Imagine having the same boss for 67 years,” Mr. Sinnott said. He added that they should be in the Guinness World Records book.

With pen and brush, he keeps Spider-Man flying over New York City, soaring from skyscraper to skyscraper, in a never-ending battle against supervillains. “It just takes time putting all those lines, and the tiny spider on Spider-Man’s chest, in such a small space,” Mr. Sinnott said.

After 41 years at Marvel, where he produced thousands of comic books for the likes of Captain America, the Incredible Hulk and Fantastic Four, Mr. Sinnott retired to work exclusively on the Spider-Man Sunday comic strip, distributed by King Features to newspapers across America. Mr. Lee still develops the story line.

Spider-Man made his debut in 1962, when Peter Parker, a high school science nerd, according to the plot, gained superhuman powers after being bitten by a radioactive spider. Fifty-five years later, his crime-fighting adventures are still popular. The latest film version, “Spider-Man: Homecoming,” starring the English actor Tom Holland, will arrive in theaters on Friday.

Mr. Sinnott is not involved with



Above, Mr. Sinnott, 90, filling in a frame. Below, his brushes, pens and inks. “His lines are so smooth, silky and polished-looking compared to other inkers,” a colleague said.



the movie, but he is one of the people most responsible for Spider-Man’s longevity and legacy. To fans, collectors and fellow artists, Mr. Sinnott is hero, too, for the larger-than-life figures he creates.

“Joltin’ Joe Sinnott is one of the most talented, most capable and most dependable artists in the comics business,” said Mr. Lee, Marvel’s former publisher. “I’ve been lucky enough to work with him many years and cannot speak highly enough as to his talent and character.”

Mr. Sinnott is regularly asked by collectors worldwide to autograph prints, sketches and decades-old comic books, whose value increases significantly with his signature.

Despite such acclamation, Mr. Sinnott prefers small-town life in the Hudson Valley, where he has been his entire life except for service in the Navy during World War II and while attending the Cartoonists and Illustrators School — now the School of Visual Arts — in New York.

Producing the Spider-Man comic strip is a tag-team effort that crisscrosses the country, starting with Mr. Lee, whose office is in Beverly Hills, Calif. He sends the script to Alex Saviuk, an artist in Florida, for rough pencil drawings. Next, the work in progress goes to Janice Chiang in Woodstock, N.Y. — about 10 miles from Mr. Sinnott’s home studio — who hand-letters the dialogue in each comic panel.

“I’ve lettered 69,000 pages during my career, so I’ve seen a lot of art,” Ms. Chiang said. “Joe’s art is so clean and fresh every time you look at it. He makes the art jump.”

When she’s finished, the strip goes back to California for Mr. Lee’s approval and then to Mr. Sinnott, who is like the anchor in a four-person relay.

His job is turning rough pencil drawings into finished artwork. “It’s got to be inked with a brush and pen in black India ink,” Mr. Sinnott said. “They call it embellishing.”

Before publication, the strip heads across country one last time for coloring in California. Even as the newspaper industry has cratered in recent decades, “The Amazing Spider-Man” still appears in many papers, though a spokeswoman for King Features would not provide a precise count. The digital version of the comic has extended Spider-Man’s reach, and it appears on many websites.

Ms. Chiang believes Spider-Man’s popularity is based on Peter Parker’s determination to rise above personal difficulties in his quest to overcome evil with good. Unlike, say, the millionaire Bruce Wayne, who transforms into Batman, Parker is a humble middle-class young man, trying to help his Aunt May after his Uncle Ben’s murder.

“Given the political situation and turmoil in the world, what we do is create hope,” Ms. Chiang said. “That’s the power of Spider-Man around the world, the idea that I can be more. You find your strengths through struggle, and it’s using those strengths to do what’s best for all of us.”

As the Spider-Man comic strip narrative says, Peter Parker came

to realize that “with great power there must also come — great responsibility!”

Mr. Saviuk said Spider-Man wouldn’t be the same without Mr. Sinnott. “His lines are so smooth, silky and polished-looking compared to other inkers,” he said.

Mr. Sinnott’s portfolio is also heavy on baseball and World War II Army illustrations. His brother, Jack, was killed in France in 1944. Baseball is in Mr. Sinnott’s blood because his mother, Catherine, was a cousin of John McGraw, the renowned manager of the New York Giants and a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame.

Mr. Sinnott credits a box of crayons he got as a birthday gift when he was a toddler for helping start his career. “I drew from the time I was 3 years old,” Mr. Sinnott said. “I wore those crayons down to nothing. I drew on paper bags, sidewalks, whatever I could.”

He added: “I tell kids in schools, you’ve got to keep drawing, and date everything so you know how you’re improving. You’ve got to keep working all the time.”

Growing up during the Great Depression, he couldn’t wait to spread Sunday comics on the living room floor. Strips like “Terry and the Pirates” — his favorite — “Jungle Jim” and “Flash Gordon” opened worlds of adventure and ignited his childhood imagination and creativity.

“It was a ball for a kid in the 1930s,” Mr. Sinnott said. “It was so exciting. You couldn’t wait to see this stuff. There was no TV.”

Like a poet or symphony-orchestra musician, Mr. Sinnott said his art comes from his soul, which explains why he is still working. “I’d be drawing anyway,” he said. “I’m always doodling. I like to make people happy. To see a kid smile when you give him a print you’ve signed to him, I love doing that.”

His handmade illustrations are something of an anomaly in today’s digital age.

“It might be a lost art, but it will be around 100 years from now,” Mr. Sinnott said. “I’m leaving something for my kids. I love the old comics. Really, it’s like an old movie that never goes away.”

## Hunt Is On for Rabbit Believed Stolen by Man Who Sought Dog

By ANDY NEWMAN

Sunny is a young gray rabbit with floppy ears. She lived at New York City’s flagship animal shelter in East Harlem. On June 14, the police say, somebody stole her.

The thief was a man who went to the shelter that day looking to adopt a dog, shelter officials said. When he was not allowed to because he had what he called two unneutered “guard dogs” at home, he got mad and grabbed the rabbit instead, shelter officials said.

Two weeks have gone by. The police say they know the thief’s identity and wrote on Wednesday that they “expect an imminent arrest.”

But rabbit lovers have tired of waiting. “Something needs to be done NOW if there is any chance of saving this animal and getting it back alive,” Nadine Heid posted on the Facebook page of the 23rd Precinct, which includes East Harlem.

On Saturday, the shelter announced that an outside group had offered a \$1,000 reward for the safe return of Sunny to any of the five city animal shelters.

Sunny’s theft comes on the heels of a high-profile cat burglary at the shelter in April. A woman stole a Persian named Snow after the shelter would not let her adopt the cat because someone else had already started the process. That thief is still at large.

It also comes just a few weeks after the shelter made a new rule that the rabbit and dog cages be kept unlocked to make the shelter seem like a friendlier place and encourage adoptions.

A veteran rabbit volunteer at the shelter, Amy Odum, questioned the wisdom of the open-cage policy.

“If the cat incident had never happened, I would consider this just naïve,” she said. “They want to look like a rescue and not like the city pound, I get that. But they took away the one small measure of security they had, which is simply to lock the cages. How can you think that would not have consequences when you’ve just had a theft?”

The way the thief took Sunny was particularly wrenching, said Katy Hansen, a spokeswoman for Animal Care Centers of NYC,

which runs the shelters. She said that after the man was told he could not adopt a dog until he got his own dogs neutered, he made his way to the second-floor rabbit room, where Sunny, who is 5 months old, lived with Honey, her sister.

The only people there were two developmentally disabled young women who were looking to become volunteers. The man asked them to help him take Sunny out of her cage and get her into his bag, Ms. Hansen said. Not knowing better, they helped him. He took Sunny and left.

Ms. Hansen said that while Sunny’s captor remains at large, the rabbit cages are locked. But that is a temporary measure. The open-cage policy will stay, she said, because by and large the shelter does not think people will steal pets and because there are usually a lot of people around who would deter a theft.

The theft of the floppy-eared rabbit is a petty larceny — a misdemeanor, legally equivalent to stealing a pack of cigarettes.

A law enforcement official said that could be part of the reason the



Sunny, right, shown with her sister Honey, was taken from an East Harlem animal shelter by an irate visitor, officials said.

case was still open in the 23rd Precinct, where detectives were investigating a triple shooting at a playground this past week.

“The 23rd Precinct in the last 28 days has investigated 59 felony crimes, including multiple felony

assaults, robberies, rapes and burglaries,” the official said on Wednesday, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a continuing investigation. “Those are a higher priority of crime than a petty larceny.”





Business Deal With Iran  
Gas Field Development  
Total's agreement is the largest by a Western energy company since the 2015 nuclear deal. **2**



Ex-Barclays Executives in Court  
Financial-Crisis-Era Case  
The group is charged with misrepresenting arrangements with Qatar in 2008. **2**



Laptop Ban Partly Lifted  
One Airline Exempted  
Etihad Airways has begun more rigorous passenger screening at the Abu Dhabi airport. **3**

# Business Day

## The New York Times

N B1  
MONDAY, JULY 3, 2017



# Cyberattack Proving Grounds

By SHEERA FRENKEL

SAN FRANCISCO — The attack had the hallmarks of something researchers had dreaded for years: malicious software using artificial intelligence that could lead to a new digital arms race in which A.I.-driven defenses battled A.I.-driven offenses while humans watched from the sidelines. But what was not as widely predicted was that one of the earliest instances of that sort of malware was found in India, not in a sophisticated British banking system or a government network in the United States. Security researchers are increasingly

looking in countries outside the West to discover the newest, most creative and potentially most dangerous types of cyberattacks being deployed. As developing economies rush to go online, they provide a fertile testing ground for hackers trying their skills in an environment where they can evade detection before deploying them against a company or state that has more advanced defenses. The cyberattack in India used malware that could learn as it was spreading, and altered its methods to stay in the system for as long as possible. Those were “early indicators” of A.I., according to the cyber-

Hackers target developing countries to hone their skills with malware that learns as it intrudes.

security company Darktrace. Essentially, the malware could figure out its surroundings and mimic the behavior of the system's users, though Darktrace said the firm had found the program before it could do any damage. The attack occurred in the last year, but Darktrace declined to give details to protect the privacy of its client. “India is a place where newer A.I. attacks might be seen for the first time, simply because it is an ideal testing ground for those sorts of attacks,” said Nicole Eagan, the chief executive of Darktrace. At times, these attacks are simply tar-

Continued on Page 4

# Pinterest Is Prepared To Challenge The Big Dogs

By SAPNA MAHESHWARI

At the recent advertising conference in Cannes, France, Pinterest announced its presence with zeal and whimsy.

## ADVERTISING

Up and down the festival's main boulevard, displays showcased new technology that allows users to search the digital scrapbook site using pictures taken on their smartphones. It claimed a beachfront space for the week and called it Pinterest Pier, a place where colorful signs highlighted the company's popularity among its users and the potential that represented for brands. (“See the possibilities,” a sign declared at the beach's entrance.) Refreshments based on popular Pinterest posts were served, complete with physical cards that mimicked their appearance online. The pageantry represented Pinterest's renewed efforts with advertisers, which have escalated in the past 10 months as it looks to regain its early buzz and show what it believes sets it apart from the likes of Google, Facebook and Snapchat. Part of that includes breaking from its understated style and playing the game: In addition to its setup at Cannes, it made a splashy appearance at this year's South by Southwest festival and has attended other industry events. “It's a focus for this year, building better tools and better relationships,” Continued on Page 3



South Park Commons in San Francisco is Silicon Valley's version of a French salon, not a tech incubator.

# A Spot to Nurture Ideas, Not Start-Ups

By CADE METZ

SAN FRANCISCO — Ruchi Sanghvi was the first female engineer at Facebook, where she helped create the news feed that now serves as the primary window into the world's largest social network. Then she built a start-up of her own and sold it to another rising Silicon Valley company, Dropbox, becoming one of its first female executives. But as she left Dropbox in 2014, she didn't know what she would do next. At 32, she wanted a better way of deciding where her career would go. She wanted an environment where she

could freely explore new ideas among her peers without feeling the pressure to start another project immediately. As the months passed, she never quite found that kind of personal think tank, but she came to realize that many old friends and colleagues felt much the same way. Her next project became an effort to help people find their next project. The result is South Park Commons. Housed in an old townhouse on the oval park at the heart of the San Francisco tech scene, the Commons is a selected community of entrepreneurs, engi-

neers, researchers and others. Ms. Sanghvi describes it as tech's answer to the Bloomsbury Set or Benjamin Franklin's Junto club, a means of shaping new ideas through conversation and shared experience. It's also a way of preparing for the future. “You get a couple of shots in life to do something meaningful and impactful. Why not take the time to identify that?” Ms. Sanghvi said during a recent conversation inside the Commons, a high-ceilinged space decorated by local Continued on Page 4

# Celebrating Independence As Free Press Is Besieged

Happy Birthday, America, I guess. You're old enough to know that you can't always have a feel-good birthday. And let's face it: This Fourth of July just isn't going to be one of them. How could it be when one of the pillars of our 241-year-old republic — the First Amendment — is under near-daily assault from the highest levels of the govern-

ment? When the president of the United States makes viciously personal attacks against journalists — and then doubles down over the weekend by posting a video on Twitter showing himself tackling and beating a figure with a CNN logo superimposed on his head? (Every time you think he's reached the limit . . . ) How could it be when the president lashes out at The Washington Post by making a veiled threat against the business interests of its owner, Jeff Bezos, suggesting that his other company, Amazon, is a tax avoider? (Where have we seen that sort of thing before — Russia maybe?) Or when the White House plays so many games with its press briefings, taking them off camera and placing conditions on how and when they can run — or, in its rare, unrestricted live briefings, using them to falsely accuse the news media of “dishonesty”? For those who cherish a robust free Continued on Page 3



# Puerto Rico’s Power Agency Defaults Over Debt

**By MARY WILLIAMS WALSH**

Puerto Rico’s troubled power company defaulted on a deal to restructure roughly \$9 billion in bond debt and sought court protection from its creditors, the government said on Sunday.

The government said the move to, in effect, file for bankruptcy was the only way to reduce the existing debt of the Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority “to a sustainable level.” The utility, known as Prepa, had previously negotiated an out-of-court deal to reduce its bond payments by about 15 percent. The bondholders now seem likely to sustain larger losses under court supervision.

Puerto Rico’s Fiscal Agency and Financial Advisory Authority, which announced the move, said it did not expect any disruption of service to Prepa’s residential or commercial customers on the island.

Electrical power has long been a drag on the island’s economy. Prepa’s antiquated generating plants burn imported oil to produce electricity. Efforts to modernize the plants and shift to clean and renewable fuels have been delayed repeatedly. Customers pay rates that follow oil prices up and down, and while the rates are relatively low at the moment, they are vulnerable to rising again.

In addition, there are longstanding accusations that Prepa’s fuel-purchasing office for many years bought dirty oil sludge as fuel, charged consumers the much higher price of cleaner distillates and then created a slush fund with the difference. Puerto Rico’s Senate held a series of hearings on



CHRISTOPHER GREGORY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A power station run by the Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority, which sought court protection.

Prepa’s fuel-purchasing irregularities, and has referred its findings to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Prepa got into severe financial trouble before the rest of the Puerto Rican government, when it was unable to pay for fuel in 2014. Its creditors extended fuel-purchasing credit that year, and subsequently negotiated a deal to restructure about \$5.7 billion of Prepa’s \$9 billion in total debt.

The deal was held up as a model

at the time, because it was achieved without the sort of leverage that can be exerted in bankruptcy. In addition to taking a 15 percent loss, the bondholders agreed that Prepa could put a portion of the savings toward its long-promised modernization and conversion to cleaner sources of power.

But the agreement also called for Prepa to continue paying down its remaining debt by adding an unpopular increase to power

customers’ monthly bills. The deal also required the restructured debt to be secured to an investment-grade rating, an insurmountable challenge with the island’s central government itself effectively bankrupt, and its economy in a painful decline.

The federal oversight board that is guiding Puerto Rico’s finances voted last week not to extend the consensual deal any further, paving the way for the move on Sunday for court protection.



ATTA KENARE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

An oil plant in Iran. An investment by France’s Total is the largest by a Western energy company in Iran since a 2015 nuclear deal.

# French Firm to Invest \$1 Billion in Iranian Gas Field

**By THOMAS ERDBRINK**

TEHRAN — The French energy giant Total has agreed to invest \$1 billion in Iran to develop a huge offshore gas field, Iranian news media reported on Sunday.

The agreement, the largest by a Western energy company in Iran since the 2015 deal to curb Tehran’s nuclear program, had been delayed in February as Total waited to see how the Trump administration’s policy toward Iran would proceed.

President Trump has spoken out against the multilateral nuclear agreement, and his antipathy toward the pact and talk of further

sanctions has raised concerns among foreign energy firms looking to invest in Iran. But the administration has approved sanction waivers allowing deals under the nuclear agreement.

Total will take a 50 percent stake in the development of the 11th phase of the South Pars gas field, investing \$1 billion into the \$4.8 billion project, the semiofficial Tasnim news agency reported on Sunday. The other partners are the China National Petroleum Corporation and the Iranian company Petropars.

The offshore South Pars gas field, which is shared by Iran and

Qatar, was first developed in the early 1990s.

Total is the first Western energy company to invest in a large infrastructure project in Iran since the nuclear agreement, and analysts say they expect other European companies to follow. Royal Dutch Shell, another energy giant, has signed several memorandums of understanding for projects in Iran, as have dozens of other companies.

“We are proud and honored to be the first international company to sign” one of Iran’s new oil and gas contracts, a Total spokesman said in an email.

Several multibillion-dollar airplane deals between the American plane maker Boeing and its European competitor Airbus had been part of the nuclear agreement. And the French carmaker PSA has committed \$320 million to manufacture Citroen cars in Iran.

The Trump administration is undertaking a 90-day review of its policies toward Iran. At a meeting on Saturday in Paris, the former American ambassador to the United Nations, John Bolton, said he was certain the Trump administration would make a change in the leadership in Tehran a priority of its Iran policy.

## Treasury Auctions for Week of July 3

The Treasury’s schedule of financing this week includes Monday’s regular weekly auction of new three- and six-month bills.

At the close of the New York cash market on Friday, the rate on the outstanding three-month bill was 1.03 percent. The rate on the six-month issue was 1.14 percent, and the rate on the four-week issue was 0.84 percent.

The following tax-exempt fixed-

income issues, valued at \$50 million or more, are scheduled for pricing this week:

**MONDAY**

Florida Department of Transportation, \$273.2 million of unlimited tax general obligation bonds. Competitive.

Florida Management Services Department, \$187.8 million of revenue bonds. Competitive.

**ONE DAY DURING THE WEEK**

Denton County, Tex., \$77 million of permanent improvement refinancing bonds. Citigroup Global Markets.

Franklin County, Ohio, \$61.2 million of hospital facilities revenue refinancing bonds. Barclays Capital.

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## THE WEEK AHEAD

# Hearing in Barclays Case; U.S. Jobs Report Is Due

**BANKING**

**Crisis-Era Criminal Charges Are a First in Britain**

A group of former Barclays executives will make their first court appearance in London on Monday after they were charged, along with the bank, last month with misrepresenting arrangements with Qatar when the bank raised money as the financial crisis worsened in 2008. The bank raised a total of \$15 billion with two capital infusions from Qatar and other investors in June and October 2008, allowing it to avoid a government bailout, unlike several of its British banking rivals.

The criminal charges against Barclays are the first to have been brought in Britain against a bank for actions taken during the financial crisis. The four former executives — including a onetime chief executive, John S. Varley — are among the most senior bank managers to be charged anywhere in a crisis-era case. *CHAD BRAY*

**AUTO INDUSTRY**

**Decline in Auto Sales Is Expected to Continue**

Automakers on Monday report how many new vehicles they sold in June, and analysts expect some gloomy results. Kelley Blue Book is forecasting a decline of 3.6 percent, to 1.46 million new cars and light trucks. More important, if that outlook holds, June would be the sixth month in a row with declining sales. Most forecasters now expect auto sales to fall this year, to around 17.1 million light vehicles, down from the record 17.5 million sold in 2016. *NEAL E. BOUDETTE*

**ECONOMY**

**Modest Increase Foreseen in Construction Spending**

On Monday, at 10 a.m., the Commerce Department will release data on construction spending in May. After a strong increase of 1.4 percent in April, economists are looking for a more modest 0.3 percent rise in May. The residential portion of the report could be softer. That, in turn, could hurt the level of overall economic growth for the second quarter. *NELSON D. SCHWARTZ*

**MARKETS**

**U.S. Markets Will Take a July 4 Breather**

On Tuesday, financial markets and government offices in the United States will close for Independence Day, giving Americans the chance to fire up their grills and, later, to watch the fireworks. Other global markets and governments will be open as usual. *ZACH WICHTER*

**REGULATION**

**Uber’s Legal Fight in Europe Continues**

On Tuesday, Uber’s battle with the European authorities will reach a new stage. The advocate general of the European Court of Justice is expected to publish an opinion on the ride-hailing service’s operations in France. In May, the advocate general designated Uber as a transportation company, rather than a digital service, that would thus have to comply with regional rules. *PRASHANT RAO*



JOSHUA ROBERTS/REUTERS

Janet L. Yellen, the Federal Reserve’s chairwoman, in June.

**ECONOMY**

**Minutes Will Offer Insight on Fed’s Thinking**

The Federal Reserve delivered on schedule during the first half of the year, raising its benchmark interest rate in March and again in June. It was the first time since the financial crisis that its plans were not spoiled by economic wobbles. The minutes of the June meeting, which the Fed will publish on Wednesday, may provide some fresh information for those trying to gauge whether the Fed will stay on course during the second half of the year. Inflation remains more sluggish than the Fed would like, but Janet L. Yellen, the Fed’s chairwoman, has pointed to the strength of job growth as a reason to believe that inflation will rebound. Investors are close to evenly divided on the chances of a December rate increase. *BINYAMIN APPELBAUM*

**Pace of Hiring in June Will Offer Clues on Job Market**

On Friday, at 8:30 a.m., the Labor Department will release figures for hiring and unemployment in June. Wall Street economists estimate the economy added 180,000 jobs, with the unemployment rate remaining at 4.3 percent. While economic reports have been mixed lately, experts will be closely watching the pace of hiring in June to see if the strong job market so far this year remains on track. One wild card: Calendar quirks and the end of the school year could produce a drag on education jobs, reducing the total payroll figure. *NELSON D. SCHWARTZ*

**‘Very Difficult’ Trade Talks Expected When G-20 Meets**

Trade will be high on the agenda when Group of 20 leaders begin two days of meetings in Hamburg, Germany, on Friday. Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany has already predicted that the talks will be “very difficult.” German-American relations are at a low after a series of reciprocal snubs, including one last week when organizers of an economic conference in Berlin cut short a speech that Wilbur Ross, the secretary of commerce, was delivering by video link. But Mr. Ross also called for the resumption of talks on a trans-Atlantic trade pact, a project dear to the Europeans. *JACK EWING*



DANIEL ROLAND/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, the host country.

NEW YORK CITY HAIKU

One hundred fifty haiku on New York City in just three lines each.

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Illustrations by James Gulliver Hancock  
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MEDIA

ADVERTISING

In Marketing, Pinterest Is Ready to Run With the Big Dogs

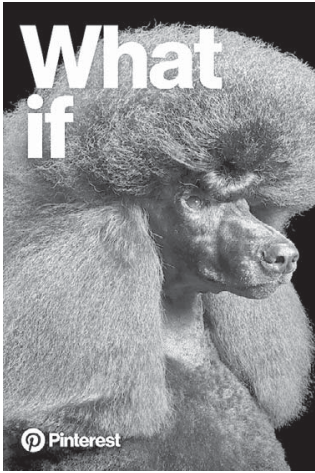
From First Business Page

Ben Silbermann, the soft-spoken chief executive and co-founder of Pinterest, said in an interview at an ad agency conference in April, where he was a speaker. A major part of that has been “educating marketers who may not be that familiar with the platform on what it is and what it isn’t,” he said.

Pinterest, based in San Francisco, has grown to 175 million monthly active users who bookmark ideas and images on the platform’s virtual bulletin boards. Already among the nation’s most highly valued start-ups, it raised another \$150 million last month for a valuation of \$12.3 billion, and is expected to bring in more than \$500 million in revenue this year. (Mr. Silbermann said in April that the company was not feeling pressure to go public, adding, “We’re just kind of focused on building a business out and we’re fortunate that we have capital.”)

While the company started selling ads two years ago, it has often been forgotten or miscategorized in conversations about online advertising, where attention is heaped on Facebook and Google for their size and Twitter and Snapchat for their social aspect.

Yet Pinterest’s users, the majority of whom are women, often provide a gold mine for advertisers with their searches and by “pinning” posts that they are interested in, indicating if they are exploring items tied to home redecoration, weddings or everyday needs like recipes and clothes before they have decided what to buy. Pinterest has been positioning itself as a better alternative to Google for search marketing, saying its connection with its users comes a step before someone types words into a search engine, especially now that it offers nascent visual search technology.



The company ran its first brand campaign in the United States last month around the phrase “What if,” pairing it with striking photos of subjects like a fluffy poodle and ice cream studded with candy and topped with a doughnut.

An alternative to Google and Facebook, and a gold mine for advertisers.

“The pitch to advertisers is explaining what people do on the platform,” Mr. Silbermann said. “What they do is try to design their life. That’s always a good place to be; Google’s pitch is, ‘People find stuff here.’”

But changing perceptions has not been Pinterest’s only hurdle with advertisers. The company asks that ads on Pinterest mimic user posts, providing their own beautiful imagery and helpful tips — another parallel that Mr.

Silbermann drew to Google, given how its ads blend in with search results. While they can be more effective than ads that interrupt photos of friends on social networks, it’s a different kind of work for marketers and means that they have one more platform that they need to specifically design content for.

“We’ve seen brands achieve return on investment with Pinterest that blows away Facebook and Instagram, but that only happens when marketers share useful content and inspiring ideas,” said Bob Gilbreath, chief executive of Ahalogy, a marketing technology company. “It takes a shift in habits, which takes time.”

The company was also hampered by taking off “at the tipping point of the desktop-to-app transition,” GroupM, the

media investing arm of ad giant WPP, said in a report this year, adding, “It’s likely that its commercial progress was slowed by its immaturity and a need to build for the desktop platform for which it was conceived.”

Still, the firm has a positive outlook on Pinterest, adding that with the introduction of promoted pins and search ads, the company “may be a serious challenger as a natural link between interest (not quite the same as intent) and commerce.”

Google dominates search advertising, which brings in tens of billions in revenue for the company a year — and it too has a visual search technology called Google Lens. But that has not stopped the ambitions of its rivals, which were on particular display in

Cannes during a panel hosted by Omnicom’s Hearts & Science agency. The panel, called “Consumer Discovery and a New Way to Search,” featured Pinterest’s sales chief speaking about image search and Amazon’s vice president for global ad sales on voice search, making it clear that they were representing the new ways of searching.

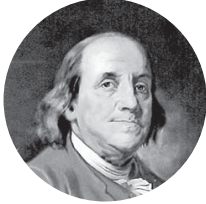
Pinterest assembled a 15-person “partner advisory board” last September composed of ad industry heavyweights including marketing executives at L’Oréal and JPMorgan Chase and those who oversee digital media budgets at GroupM and Publicis Media. Since then, it has also rolled out ads tied to search, new data and measurement tools and a program to support first-time advertisers called Pinterest Propel.

The company has also been trying to enhance its appeal with the public, running its first brand campaign in the United States last month around the phrase “What if.” The ads featured the phrase and Pinterest’s name on striking photos, like that of a decadent pink milkshake topped with candy and a doughnut and another of an extremely fluffy poodle.

Some in the industry viewed Pinterest’s prominent setup in Cannes last month as a sign of more to come from the company.

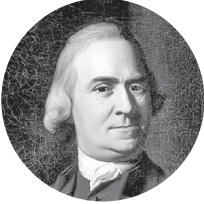
“There’s an order of operations for Pinterest and it speaks to the methodological nature of Ben Silbermann — don’t get flashy until you are absolutely confident,” said Kevin Knight, the chief marketing officer of Experticity, who led Pinterest’s creative and brand strategy until last year. “They had to wait until they were absolutely confident they could stand up in that bright light and withstand the scrutiny, so you’ll see them get way more vocal.”

Their Words: In Defense of Free Speech and a Free Press



Benjamin Franklin

‘Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freeness of speech.’



Samuel Adams

‘There is nothing so fretting and vexatious, nothing so justly terrible to tyrants, and their tools and abettors, as a free press.’



George Washington

‘The freedom of speech may be taken away — and, dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep, to the slaughter.’



James Madison

‘A popular government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy; or, perhaps both.’



John F. Kennedy

‘There is a terrific disadvantage not having the abrasive quality of the press applied to you daily, to an administration, even though we never like it, and even though we wish they didn’t write it, and even though we disapprove.’



Ronald Reagan

‘There is no more essential ingredient than a free, strong and independent press to our continued success in what the founding fathers called our noble experiment in self-government.’



George W. Bush

‘Power can be very addictive, and it can be corrosive. And it’s important for the media to call to account people who abuse their power, whether it be here or elsewhere.’

FROM LEFT: NATIONAL POSTAL MUSEUM, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION; MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON; HULTON ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES; UNIVERSAL HISTORY ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES; GEORGE JAMES/THE NEW YORK TIMES; SUSAN STEINKAMP/SABA SOURCE; DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Celebrating Liberty as Free Press, a Pillar of the Republic, Is Besieged

From First Business Page

press, it’s hard to feel much like partying after witnessing how some cheered Representative Greg Gianforte, Republican of Montana, for body slamming a reporter for The Guardian, Ben Jacobs. His sin: asking unwelcome questions.

The “he had it coming” camp’s celebration of the violence against a reporter seemed out of step with Mr. Gianforte’s own response. He ultimately apologized, pleaded guilty to assault and pledged a \$50,000 donation to the Committee to Protect Journalists.

Then again, it wasn’t out of step with President Trump, whose weekend tweet appeared to promote violence against CNN — which, some argued, violated Twitter’s harassment policies — and certainly undercut Mr. Gianforte’s message of contrition.

Yes, America, all of the attacks against something so central to your

Jaclyn Peiser contributed reporting.

identity must have you in quite the birthday funk.

The likely reaction in anti-press precincts to a column like this one will be that mainstream journalists think they’re above reproach, which is nonsense.

When a real news organization makes a mistake, it takes action, as CNN recently did when it retracted an article about the Russia investigation, saying the article had not received the proper vetting. Three people lost their jobs.

The Trump administration torqued it into supposed proof that CNN and much of the rest of the news media — including The New York Times and The Washington Post — are “fake news.”

It was a powerful reminder to journalists everywhere to take the extra time to get it right, to make sure that the processes that ensure editorial quality and accuracy remain intact and strong.

The stakes are higher now, as the anti-press sentiment veers into calls for

more action against journalists, if not against journalism itself.

Look no further than the new National Rifle Association advertisement. In it, the conservative radio and television star Dana Loesch angrily de-

Near-daily assaults on the First Amendment by the White House.

scribes how “they” — whoever they are — “use their media to assassinate real news,” contributing to a “violence of lies” that needs to be combated with “the clenched fist of truth.”

Given that the ad was for a pro-gun group, this sort of thing “tends toward incitement,” Charles P. Pierce wrote in Esquire. (Added context: The N.R.A. chief Wayne LaPierre recently called

“academic elites, political elites and media elites” America’s “greatest domestic threats.”)

The Fox News host Sean Hannity has urged the Trump administration to force reporters to submit written requests in advance of the daily White House press briefing, which, he said, should be narrowly tailored to specific topics the administration wants to talk about.

Mr. Hannity’s good buddy Newt Gingrich went one better, suggesting that administration officials fully close the briefing room to the news media, which he has called “a danger to the country right now.”

What’s most extraordinary in all of this is how many people calling for curtailments on the free press are such professed “constitutionalists” and admirers of the founders.

The founders didn’t view the press as particularly enlightened, and from the earliest days of the republic it certainly wasn’t. (To wit, a passage in The Aurora, an early publication, described

George Washington as “the source of all the misfortunes of our country.”)

But they drafted the founding documents to enshrine press freedom for good reason. As the Stanford University history professor Jack Rakove said in an interview last week, James Madison was most concerned about a misinformed public’s acting on misplaced passions, and saw the press as an antidote. Were he alive now, Mr. Rakove said, “Madison would be worried by the idea of government whipping up or exploiting” what he called “badly formed passions.”

Sure, there were the occasional stumbles, like the short-lived Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which banned “false, scandalous and malicious writing” about the government, but they led to stronger free speech protections.

So this, our 241st birthday, seems just the time to invite some of our forebears to remind us — including those at the top of the government — why a free press is so important.

U.S. to Allow Laptops Aboard Etihad Flights After Airline Moves to Tighten Security

By NOAH WEILAND

WASHINGTON — American officials on Sunday exempted Etihad Airways from a ban on laptops and other types of electronics on some flights bound for the United States, restrictions instituted in March because of concerns that the Islamic State was developing a bomb that could be hidden in portable devices.

The flights were cleared, according to Etihad and American officials, because the airline had begun conducting more rigorous passenger screening at Abu Dhabi International Airport, where it is the national carrier of the United Arab Emirates. The Department of Homeland

Security said last week that the laptop ban would be lifted for airlines that fulfilled new requirements to increase security.

Lorie Dankers, a spokeswoman for the Transportation Security Administration, said in a statement that Etihad Airways’ adoption of the enhanced security measures was “a testament to the close collaboration, effective communication and shared security commitment between T.S.A., the international civil aviation authorities and industry.”

The Abu Dhabi airport also has a station where Etihad passengers go through United States Customs and Border Protection screening before board-

ing flights bound for the United States, rather than after landing there. Etihad has 45 flights every week to six American cities.

In a statement, the airline said, “We welcome the decision by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to lift the electronic devices ban on flights between Abu Dhabi and the United States, following the successful validation of security measures.”

In March, homeland security officials, citing security concerns, barred passengers from bringing electronics larger than cellphones aboard flights to the United States from some majority-Muslim nations. American officials said at

the time that intelligence showed that the Islamic State was designing explosives hidden in laptop batteries, prompting the ban.

Several of Etihad’s rivals, including Emirates and Qatar Airways, were also affected by the ban because they operate in countries covered by the order. In April, Emirates cited new security restrictions in announcing it would cut 25 flights a week to American cities.

As recently as late May, John F. Kelly, the secretary of homeland security, had considered banning laptops on all flights to the United States. Last week, the department announced that passengers flying to the United States from all for-

eign airports would face a more comprehensive examination of luggage and electronic devices.

Airport officials in Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates; Jordan; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Morocco; Turkey; Egypt and Kuwait are still responsible for restricting the larger devices from nonstop flights to the United States. The Department of Homeland Security ordered passengers to stow those electronics in their checked luggage or leave them behind.

Ms. Dankers of the Transportation Security Administration said that the agency was eager to work with other airlines to carry out the new security procedures.



# Cyberattackers Find Fertile Proving Grounds

From First Business Page

getting more susceptible victims. While companies in the United States will often employ half a dozen security firms' products as defensive measures, a similar company elsewhere may have just one line of defense — if any. In the case of attacks carried out by a nation-state, companies in the United States can hope to receive a warning or assistance from the federal government, while companies elsewhere will often be left to fend for themselves.

Cybersecurity experts now speculate that a February 2016 attack on the central bank of Bangladesh, believed to have been carried out by hackers linked to North Korea, was a precursor to similar attacks on banks in Vietnam and Ecuador.

That hackers managed to steal \$81 million from the Bangladesh Bank generated headlines because of the size of the heist. But what interested cybersecurity experts was that attackers had taken advantage of a previously unexplored weakness in the bank's computers by undermining its accounts on Swift, the international money transfer system that banks use to move billions of dollars

among themselves each day.

It was an unprecedented form of cyberattack. But since then, the cybersecurity firm Symantec has found the method used against banks in 31 countries.

The malware discovered by Darktrace researchers stopped short of being a full-fledged A.I.-driven piece of software. It did, however, learn while it was in the system, trying to copy the actions of the network in order to blend in.

“What was concerning was that this attack, once it got into the network, used A.I. techniques, like trying to learn the behaviors of employees on the network, to remain undetected for as long as possible,” Ms. Eagan said. She said she saw a future in which countries raced against one another to hire people skilled in developing complex algorithms that could be used to run such malware.

Ms. Eagan's company, which has headquarters in Cambridge, England, and San Francisco, has increasingly found hacking incidents in India since it expanded there.

As other cybersecurity companies enter Southeast Asia, Africa and other parts of the world where they have not had much presence, they will continue to discover new types of malware being tested in

those markets, said Allan Liska, a senior threat intelligence analyst at Recorded Future, a cybersecurity firm based in Somerville, Mass.

“For several years, Taiwan and South Korea have been proven testing grounds for some of the more advanced groups in China,” Mr. Liska said. “Those countries have high-speed internet, widespread internet penetration and not a lot of security infrastructure in place.”

He added: “We see a pattern among the attackers. They test something, make improvements, and then six weeks later test again before launching it at their true targets.”

As internet use has expanded in Africa, Mr. Liska said, his company has noticed an increase in so-called spear-phishing attacks in which hackers appear to be testing their skills in English- and French-speaking African countries. Spear phishing employs messages that appear innocuous but contain dangerous malware. They are one of the most popular forms of cyberattacks, though they largely depend on the attackers' ability to hone a message that can fool a victim into opening a link or attachment.

He said that in the spear-phishing tests his company had found,

attackers appeared to be testing their language, but did not include the actual malware in the link, what he described as the payload.

“They save that payload for when they are going to actually launch their attack in whatever French- or English-speaking country they are after,” Mr. Liska said.

Countries across Southeast Asia and the Middle East that have come online over the last decade have been tempting targets for hackers, said Chris Rock, an Australian security researcher and chief executive of the cybersecurity firm Kustodian.

“They are a testing ground for different kinds of environments,” he said. “For hackers, they can be low-hanging fruit.”

Doing tests in a country that presumably has fewer defenses is a double-edged sword, Mr. Rock said. On one hand, attackers can hone their skills. On the other hand, they risk being discovered. Once a cybersecurity firm has the signature of an attack, it can build defenses against it, and spread those defenses against its clients.

Mr. Rock said that if one target “has, actually, installed a good defense and you get caught, then you have wasted your time.”



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON LACRAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

From left, Andrew Hsu, Anurag Goel and Connor Zwick collaborating at South Park Commons, founded by Ruchi Sanghvi.

# Nurturing Ideas, Not Start-Ups, in Silicon Valley

From First Business Page

artists. “It is very easy to fall into the traps of Silicon Valley — ‘Let’s start a company,’ or ‘Let’s invest’ — without giving it a second thought.”

Founded a little more than 18 months ago, the Commons aims to fill a hole in the tech landscape. Northern California is littered with incubators and accelerators, organizations like Y Combinator and Techstars that help small companies develop and grow. This is something different, a community you can join before you have founded a company or even when you have little interest in founding one.

The Commons is a bit like the hacker spaces that have long thrived in the Valley — places where coders and makers gather to build new software and hardware — but it moves beyond that familiar concept. Its founder, for one thing, is a female engineer turned entrepreneur turned executive.

The group, which includes 25 to 30 people at any given time, is one small piece of the Northern California tech scene, but it arrives at a crucial moment. Silicon Valley is a place in transition, thanks to a shifting economic landscape, the rise of artificial intelligence and other technologies, and new pressure to embrace a more diverse range of people.

Today's tech industry also provides an extra degree of economic freedom, said Ms. Sanghvi, whose husband, Aditya Agarwal, also has a long history in Silicon Valley and is now the chief technology officer at Dropbox.

Many tech workers were stuck with their companies for years, waiting for an initial public offering. Now they can easily sell their shares on private markets, and that means they have more opportunity to explore new ventures. At the same time, the path to the next venture is less obvious, as companies shift toward very different types of technology, most notably artificial intelligence, or A.I., which is rapidly changing the way the world builds software.



Recruitment is by word of mouth, and dogs are admitted, too.

Increasingly, Silicon Valley is embracing what are called deep neural networks, complex mathematical systems that can learn discrete tasks by analyzing vast amounts of data. These have become an enormously effective way of recognizing objects in images, and words spoken into smartphones, but they also find uses in fields including security, health care and robotics.

The rub is that the talent needed to build and deploy these techniques is scarce, so much so that the likes of Google and Facebook are running classes to educate their employees in this new way of doing things. The Commons provides both a physical and a social environment where others can learn in similar ways.

Ms. Sanghvi recruits people to the Commons solely by word of mouth, and they join merely by showing up and contributing a few hundred dollars in dues, to pay for items like coffee, snacks and paper towels and to fund regular events at the townhouse.

When Cinjon Resnick arrived at the Commons last year after moving to San Francisco from New York, it was already cultivating an interest in neural networks and other A.I. techniques. He was among those who spent several months exploring the field, reading and discussing the latest research papers, and organizing lectures and workshops at the Com-

mons.

Many groups strive for this dynamic of exploration and dialogue, but for Mr. Resnick, the Commons succeeded. “It’s a loosely structured place where people can come and form ideas,” he said during a recent interview. “It’s what we all wanted.”

Eventually, Mr. Resnick landed a residency at Google Brain, Google’s central artificial intelligence lab. Three others joined OpenAI, a competing lab founded by Tesla’s chief executive, Elon Musk.

Virtual reality, biotechnology and other new movements may drive similar changes across the Valley, and the Commons is built to embrace it all; Ms. Sanghvi and others recruit members precisely because they are different. While Mr. Resnick and others explored A.I., David Kosslyn and Ian Thompson worked with virtual reality. Nikil Viswanathan and Joseph Lau built the meeting app Down to Lunch. Kanjun Qiu built a recruiting company, Sourceress.

But this arrangement has other byproducts. Ms. Qiu is one of three female founders who have emerged from the Commons. Though Ms. Sanghvi said the organization still needed more women, her presence and the group dynamic are at least a step toward that future.

“This is collaborative learning,” said Nilanjana Dasgupta, a psy-

chologist at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, who studies how social environments affect career paths, particularly in science and technology. “That can feel more satisfying for women in a culture like Silicon Valley.”

Mr. Resnick and other alumni of the Commons say this vibe exists because Ms. Sanghvi takes such a strong hand in guiding her creation. With a style both endearing and remarkably direct, she runs the community the way a good parent raises a child.

She pays for the townhouse, giving the group a place to meet and work each day, and she lays down the rules. She demands regular lunches, dinners and other events, like the early lecture on A.I. from a Silicon Valley veteran, Keith Adams, who is the chief architect of Slack, or a recent presentation from the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, the charitable organization started by Facebook’s chief executive, Mark Zuckerberg, and his wife, Dr. Priscilla Chan.

“Events give you an excuse to talk to each other,” Ms. Sanghvi said. “They make you feel like you’re working on something together.”

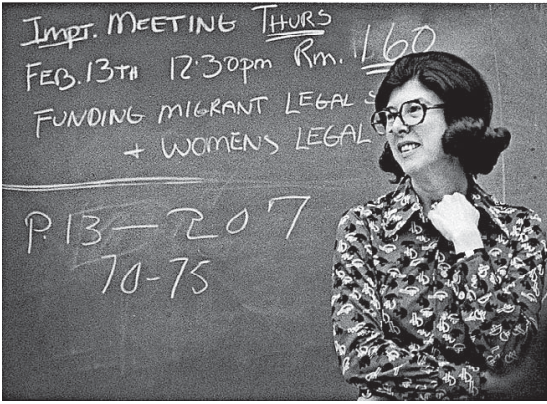
But she also sets limits. Anyone who builds a company that grows to more than five people graduates. She does not want the Commons to become just another accelerator.

The trick lies in keeping the current vibe going and, better yet, mimicking its approach across the Valley. For the Commons, that means more independence from Ms. Sanghvi, a way for the group to attract members and raise funds on its own.

Ms. Sanghvi said she might find a way to get the Commons a tiny percentage of any start-up that emerged from the townhouse or she might seek sponsorship from big businesses or nonprofits.

That may or may not change the Commons. But Ms. Sanghvi is intent on ensuring that the vibe remains. “I don’t want this to be something that lasts for three years and disappears,” she said.

## OBITUARIES



Herma Hill Kay. “How to make trouble without being a troublemaker, that describes my style,” Ms. Kay said in 1992.

# Herma Hill Kay Dies at 82; Trailblazer at Berkeley Law

By DANIEL E. SLOTNIK

Herma Hill Kay, who pushed for the rights of women and minorities as the first female dean of the University of California at Berkeley’s law school, died on June 10 at her home in San Francisco. She was 82.

Her death was confirmed by her son Michael Brodsky.

When Ms. Kay became the second woman to join Berkeley’s law faculty in 1960, law schools were still very much a boys’ club; The New York Times reported in 1992 that only 13 women had been professors in accredited law schools in the United States since the first woman was hired in that position in 1919. Ms. Kay made it her mission to open the clubhouse without tearing it down.

“How to make trouble without being a troublemaker, that describes my style,” Ms. Kay said in 1992, after she was named dean at Berkeley Law School. “I think that if you are going to help build an institution, you have to be careful not to destroy it in the process.”

An expert on family law, marital property law and sex-based discrimination, Ms. Kay helped draft California’s no-fault divorce law in 1969. She was also one of the authors of the Uniform Marriage and Divorce Act, a standard for national no-fault divorce laws approved by National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in 1970. Some form of no-fault divorce is now law in every state.

Ms. Kay wrote articles on the history of women in the legal profession and seminal books of case law, including “Sex-Based Discrimination,” which she wrote in the 1970s with Kenneth Davidson and Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a friend who was later named a Supreme Court justice.

Ms. Kay took over from Jesse Choper as dean of Berkeley Law after years of student protests aimed at diversifying the school’s faculty and student body. She dealt with budgetary constraints and the departure of key faculty members early on, but the greatest challenge she faced was a 1996 California referendum banning affirmative action at public institutions.

Minority enrollment dropped immediately, from 98 students in 1996 to 62 in 1997, only one of whom was African-American. Ms. Kay, who favored affirmative action, complied with the law but tried to make up the difference by expanding Berkeley Law’s outreach.

In 1998 81 minority students enrolled in a class of 269, an increase which did not disappear; in 2016 there were 115 out of a class of 301.

“We did it by getting everybody to convey the same message: ‘We want you here. We are not turning our backs on people of different backgrounds and color,’” Ms. Kay told The San Francisco Chronicle in 1999.

In 1999, Ms. Kay announced that she would return to teaching, and in 2000, John P. Dwyer, a professor and environmental law expert, became dean.

Ms. Kay continued teaching until 2016. During her nearly six decades at Berkeley Law, women grew to more than 50 percent of the student body and the number of women on the faculty expanded considerably.

“Her persistent effort for well over a half century has been to make what was once momentous no longer out of the ordinary — law faculties and student generations that reflect the full capacity, diversity and talent of all of our

# The second woman to join a school’s faculty became its first female dean.

nation’s peoples,” Justice Ginsburg said in a video message when Ms. Kay received a lifetime achievement award from the Association of American Law Schools in 2015.

Herma Lee Hill was born in Orangeburg, S.C., on Aug. 18, 1934. She was the only child of Charles Hill, a Methodist minister, and Herma Crawford, a schoolteacher. Her father moved the family frequently as he traveled on the Southern preaching circuit.

Ms. Kay earned a bachelor’s degree in English from Southern Methodist University in Dallas in 1956 and a law degree from the University of Chicago three years later. She clerked for Justice Roger Traynor of the California Supreme Court before starting her tenure at Berkeley.

Ms. Kay was married three times. The first two marriages, to Jean Paul Schreter and Larry Kay, ended in divorce, but she kept Mr. Kay’s surname.

In 1975 she married Carroll Brodsky. He died in 2014.

Besides her son Michael, she is survived by two other sons, John and Tom; four grandchildren; and two step-granddaughters. One of her granddaughters, Jessica Brodsky, graduated from the Berkeley School of Law in May.

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# Norman Dorsen, Tenacious Rights Advocate Who Led A.C.L.U., Dies at 86

By JONAH ENGEL BROMWICH

Norman Dorsen, a passionate human rights advocate who led the American Civil Liberties Union for 15 years and was involved in some of the biggest civil liberties cases of the second half of the 20th century, died Saturday at his home in Manhattan. He was 86.

The cause was complications of a stroke, his daughter Annie said.

Mr. Dorsen's career-long focus on civil liberties was informed by his involvement in the Army-McCarthy Hearings in 1954, and he went on to argue Supreme Court cases that established juveniles' rights to due process and that acknowledged the rights of children born out of wedlock, as well as early arguments before the court

**A career of fighting for civil liberties, including before the Supreme Court.**

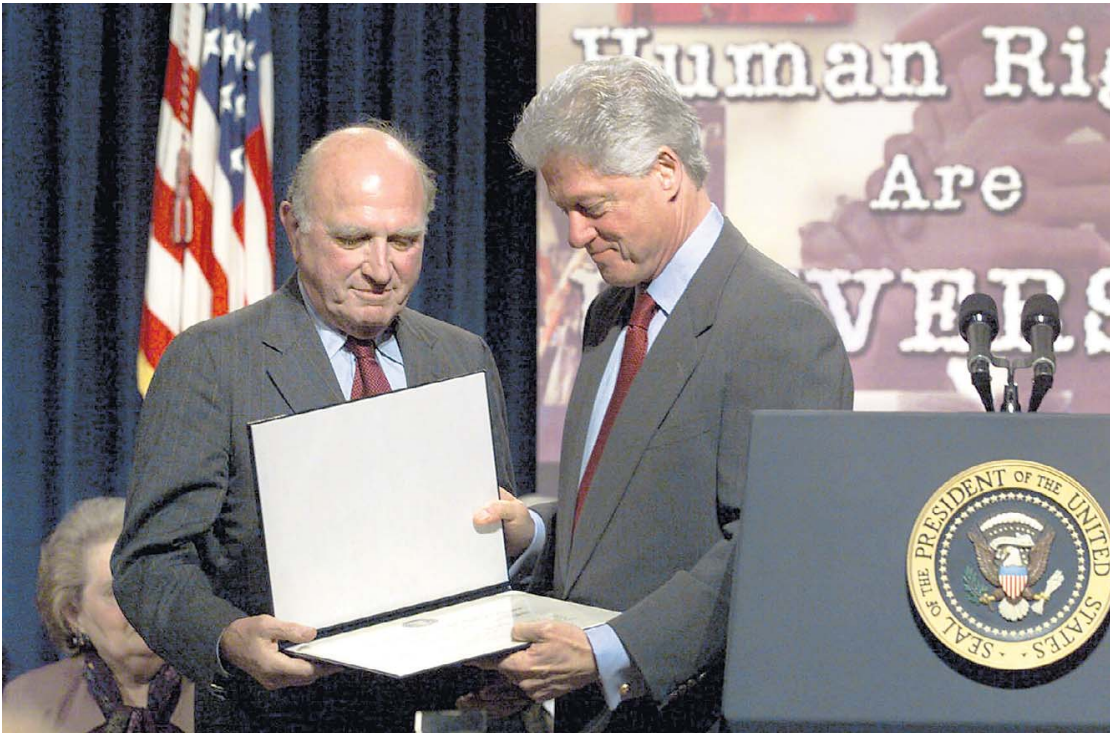
on abortion and gay rights.

He was also a key figure at New York University School of Law, where he joined the faculty and became the director of the civil liberties program in 1961. Partly through Mr. Dorsen's influence, the school gained a reputation for attracting students and faculty with an interest in public interest law.

"Perhaps no one else in the history of N.Y.U. Law shaped this place as profoundly, or affected it as deeply, as Norman," said Trevor W. Morrison, the dean of the law school.

Mr. Morrison added that "for half a century, he was among the most important legal advocates for civil rights and civil liberties in the country."

In 2000, President Bill Clinton



RON EDMONDS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Bill Clinton presenting Norman Dorsen with the Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award in 2000 in Washington.

awarded Mr. Dorsen the Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award. In a statement introducing the award winners, the White House referred to Mr. Dorsen as "a tenacious and outspoken defender of human rights."

Norman Dorsen was born on Sept. 4, 1930, in Manhattan to Arthur Dorsen and Tanya Stone. A stellar student, he attended the Bronx High School of Science, and entered Columbia College when he was 16, while still living at home. He had finished his career at Harvard Law School, where he

was an editor on the law review, by 23.

After graduating, Mr. Dorsen became a lieutenant in the Army, where he was a part of the team that worked on the Army-McCarthy hearings, which revolved around claims by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and his chief counsel, Roy Cohen, that Communists had infiltrated the federal government and the Army. Mr. Dorsen credited the behavior of McCarthy and Mr. Cohn with shaping his career.

"There is no doubt that being confronted by the McCarthy crowd, and in particular by Roy Cohn, sensitized me to issues of fairness in hearings and other proceedings and the drastic harm that the government can do to free expression," he told Columbia College's alumni magazine in 2013.

John Sexton, a former dean of N.Y.U. Law and a close friend of Mr. Dorsen's, said that the hearings were "a formative experience for him because he saw the real danger that could come from this kind of demagogic seizure of power."

He later studied international economics as a Fulbright scholar at the London School of Economics.

Mr. Dorsen went on to clerk for Justice John Marshall Harlan II on the Supreme Court, where he was later remembered by Justice William J. Brennan Jr. as principled and "indefatigably persistent."

Remembering a case Mr. Dorsen had been passionate about, Mr. Brennan wrote in a 2001 tribute that "for weeks before and after the case was argued, he pur-

sued my law clerk relentlessly through the halls of the court, peppering him with arguments. Sooner or later, Norm calculated, my clerk would agree, exert his influence and induce me to see reason."

Mr. Dorsen would take that persistence before the court many times as a litigator. In 1967, he helped convince the court that Arizona had acted unconstitutionally after sentencing a 15-year-old to six years in prison for making an obscene phone call. In 1968, he successfully argued that Louisiana could not discriminate against children born out of wedlock.

He became the general counsel of the A.C.L.U. in 1969 and its president in 1976, and helped to guide the organization through many challenges, including its defense of the rights of Nazis to stage a march through Skokie, Ill., in 1977. The following year, The New York Times credited Mr. Dorsen with "a magic touch for healing organizational wounds."

He also helped to build the Arthur Garfield Hays Civil Liberties Program at N.Y.U. Law into a powerhouse, and in 1995, became the founding director of the Hauser Global Law School Program at N.Y.U., one of the first programs of its kind.

He met his future wife, Harriette, at N.Y.U. and the two were wed in 1965. She died in 2011. Besides his daughter Annie, survivors include two other daughters, Jennifer and Caroline; a brother, David; and four grandchildren.

Annie Dorsen said that, although her father was committed to the bedrock values of enlightenment humanism — he kept a bust of Voltaire in his house — he acknowledged the effect that luck had in shaping his career.

But she added that an "extraordinary identification with and feeling of solidarity with the underdog" had also guided him.

## Doug Peterson, 71, an Innovator in Racing Yacht Design

By CHRIS MUSELER

Doug Peterson, a freethinking yacht designer who turned the offshore racing world on its head in the 1970s with breakthrough boats, and later contributed to the designs of two America's Cup winners, died on June 26 in San Diego. He was 71.

The cause was colon cancer, his daughter Laura Peterson said.

The yacht-racing world in the early 1970s was booming in North America after the establishment of a design rule that opened up competition to affordable new boats of different designs.

Peterson, a young, longhaired, bearded San Diegan, entered the yacht-design scene on the West Coast, fresh from an apprenticeship with the renowned yacht designer Wendell Calkins, who was known as Skip and whose ultralight ocean sailing yachts had won the Transpac race from Los Angeles to Hawaii.

Peterson's breakthrough design was for a 34-foot yacht named Ganbare — Japanese for "go fight wind."

He borrowed money from his grandmother to build it on speculation. Smaller and lighter than its competitors, Ganbare was more

maneuverable and was faster than anything else of its size.

After winning the One Ton North American Championships with Ganbare, Peterson cobbled together a plan to take the boat to the 1973 One Ton World Championships in Genoa, Italy, the premier international offshore sailing competition of the time. Ganbare won the first four races of the se-

**A freethinker who borrowed money from his grandmother and began a career.**

ries. Peterson was penalized in one of the final races for rounding a mark the wrong way, and he eventually finished second. The outcome surprised the yacht-racing world and started Peterson's career on its way.

Commissions flooded the new office of Peterson Design Inc., and boat builders on Shelter Island in his hometown, San Diego, began producing a new Peterson design

out of cold-molded wood every seven weeks.

"Ganbare put him on the map," said Dirk Kramers, the chief engineer for the recent America's Cup team Land Rover BAR and a design team member with Peterson during the successful American defense of the Cup in 1992 with America<sup>3</sup> (known as America Cubed). "By the late 1970s, he was the man."

Douglas Blair Peterson was born on July 25, 1945, in Los Angeles and spent almost his entire life in San Diego. His father, Carlton Peterson, an aerospace engineer, bought an 11-foot Sabot single-sailed dinghy with the hope that sailing would reduce the stress of his work life. He would take young Doug and his brother on daysails to Treasure Island.

Peterson graduated from Point Loma High School in San Diego but later dropped out of Pasadena City College.

"There's a story that said his teacher was going to fail him if he kept drawing boats in class," Laura Peterson said.

Besides his daughter Laura, survivors include his other children, Mark, Jamie and Julia.

After his apprenticeship with Calkins, Peterson struck out on his own.

The win record for Peterson's designs in the 1970s and early 1980s included eight world championships and victories in every major sailing event across the globe, including the Southern Ocean Racing Conference and the Admiral's Cup.

Peterson's sometimes angular hull and keel designs, inspired by aeronautical foil shapes, influenced a new generation of designers, who would eventually lead the design world and set trends in the market for recreational and racing sailboats.

"He was very anti-establishment," Kramers said of Peterson, who challenged the traditional approaches of East Coast designers, who had long dominated the industry.

Peterson was an intuitive designer who took few notes, according to those who worked alongside him. By the time he joined his first America's Cup campaign, Bill Koch's America<sup>3</sup>, he was a lead designer, successfully defending the trophy in 1992.

For the next Cup races, in 1995, Peterson joined Team New Zealand, for which he helped create the Cup boat Black Magic. Russell Coutts and his Kiwi team handily defeated the American Dennis Conner, 5-0, taking the Cup away from the United States. In 2000, he was on the design team for the Italian syndicate Luna Rossa, which lost to New Zealand in the finals.

Peterson responded rapidly when challenged by new design rules.

"He was very good at quickly determining where a boat should be within that rule box," said Jim Pugh, a racing and superyacht designer who worked for Peterson Design Inc. from 1976 to 1982. "A

lot of people would take a lot of time and research to get to that space. A completely open, new rule, he could put his mind to that, and that's what he enjoyed doing."

Peterson's most recent design work included drawing sweeping hull lines for the Dutch superyacht builder Jongert, a company that builds luxury sailing yachts 90 to 200 feet long. But he discovered his final sailing passion, racing classic wooden yachts built in the early 20th century, while working on America's Cup boats in Italy.

In 2007, Peterson sailed his final world championship on the 1931 International Six Meter named Bob Kat off the Isle of Wight, in Cowes, England, where the first America's Cup race was contested in 1851.

Peterson was recently voted



NICK WILSON/GETTY IMAGES

Doug Peterson in 2002. He challenged traditional boat designs.

into the America's Cup Hall of Fame.

"In a way, it's nice that Doug passed right about the time on Monday when New Zealand won the 35th America's Cup," said

Greg Stewart, a yacht designer from San Diego and a friend of Peterson's, referring to last Monday's final Cup race. "I know he was really proud of that time in his life."



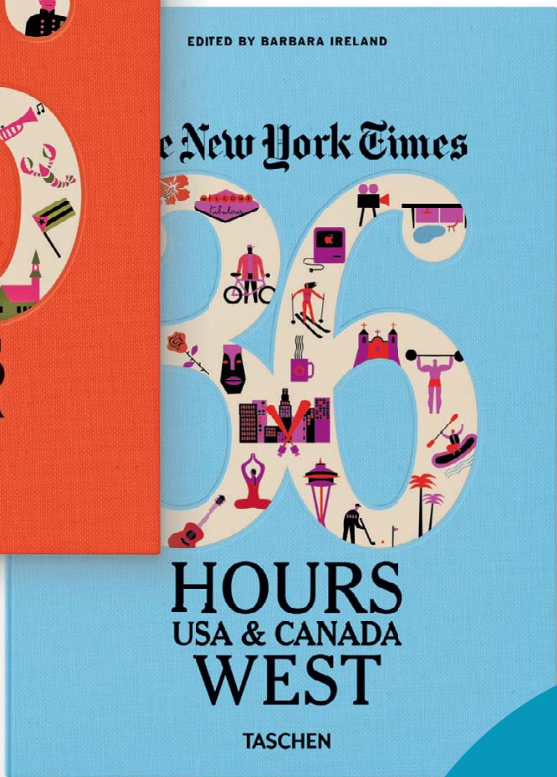
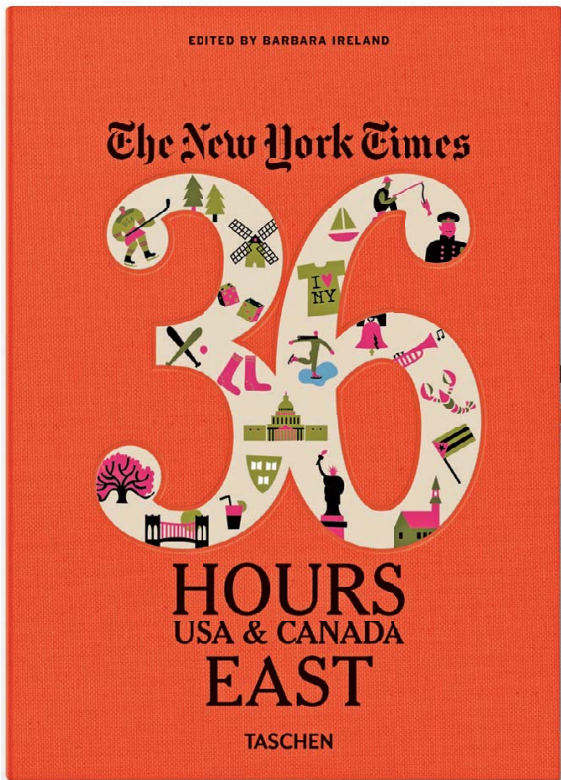
VINCE BUCCI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

America<sup>3</sup>, foreground, during the 1992 America's Cup against Il Moro di Venezia V of Italy. America<sup>3</sup> was one of two boats designed by Peterson that won the Cup, yachting's vaunted trophy.

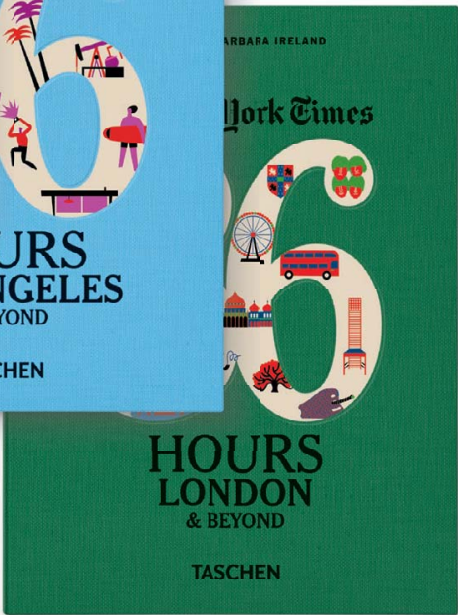
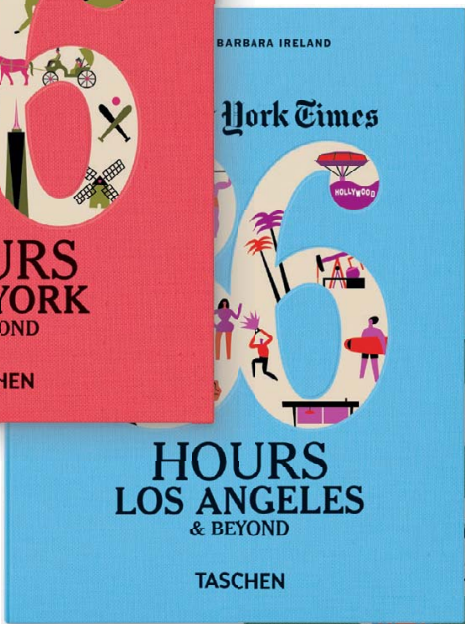
Deaths		
Barr, John Brody-Sporn, Sylvia Brody, Selma	Frank, Richard Gilroy, Luke Mazzara, Brenda	Nittoli, Janice Trott, Stuart
<p><b>BARR</b>—John, III. Age 77, of Plano, Texas, passed away June 27, 2017. For the full obituary, service times, and to sign an online registry, please visit: <a href="http://www.jimbfuneral.com">www.jimbfuneral.com</a>.</p> <p><b>BRODY-SPOHN</b>—Sylvia, nee Feld, age 94 on June 30, 2017, formerly of Flushing, Queens, Fort Campbell, KY and Avenue U, Brooklyn. Adored youngest of nine children. Devoted mother of Dr. Judy Kurianskv, Barbara Wallace and the late Dr. Robert Brodsky and of friend Russell Daisey. Loving grandmother of Dr. Adam Wallace, Randy and Alicia Brodsky. Graveside services Beth Moses Cemetery, Farmingdale, NY on Monday, July 3, 2017 at 2:00pm by friends. Reverends Laurie Sue Brockway and Victor Fuhrman. A beautiful smiling angel outside and inside, loving heart, kindest soul, loved by everyone. Showered her children with unconditional love: "What makes you happy makes me happy." Teacher and gymnast, basketball, synchronized swimmer, assistant to husband Dr. Abraham Brodsky, dentist and Army Colonel. Taped daughter Dr. Judy's TV appearances and LovePhones radio advice show every night, with pride: "My Dr. Judy is so smart and helps the world", and came to her United Nations events and 9/11 responder events and concerts. Adorable. See: <a href="http://bit.ly/2162cuv">http://bit.ly/2162cuv</a>. For further information Bloomfield-Copier, Monalopon 732-446-4242.</p> <p><b>FRANK</b>—Richard C. Brighton, NY: June 22, 2017. Predeceased by his parents, Mark and Edith; wife, Susan; brother, Bernard (Buzz). Survived by nieces, Lauren and Julianne; Frank's nephew, Glenn Frank. Richard was a veteran of WWII and a member of the Directors Guild of America. A Private Graveside Service will be held at a future date at Mt. Hope Cemetery. To share a memory of Richard or send a condolence to the family visit: <a href="http://anthonychapels.com">anthonychapels.com</a>.</p> <p><b>ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN N.Y.C. TO (212) 556-2900; OR OUTSIDE N.Y.C. TO TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SUBMITTED ONLINE AT ADVERTISING.NYTIMES.COM (SELECT "IN MEMORIAM") FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS:</b> Until 5:30 P.M. the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 5:00 P.M. on Friday for Sunday's Nationwide Edition, until 12:45 P.M. Saturday for Sunday's New York Region edition, until 2:00 P.M. Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday. Photos for Saturday, Sunday and Monday must be submitted by 12 noon on Friday.</p>		
<p><b>GILROY</b>—Luke Erin. October 6, 1983 - June 24, 2017. Luke Erin Gilroy took his last breath in his home in San Pedro, CA, on June 24, 2017 in the arms of his wife, Meredith Blount, and surrounded by his parents, Tom and Barbara, and sister, Georgia Gilroy, and their dog, Gaia. He was 33. Luke graduated Mira Costa High School as valedictorian in 2001, and Dartmouth College as magna cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, and Academic All-Ivy in 2005. He then joined Fidelity's Fixed Income Division where he worked for eight years, during which time he became one of the youngest research analysts in the division's history. Luke's love for surfing and hiking informed his love for the environment, and was only superseded by how much he cared for his fellow man. This inspired Luke's interests in public policy, which lead him to earn an MPP from Harvard Kennedy School of Public Policy in March 2016. At every juncture, Luke made lifelong friends because he had a gentle soul that radiated light. In October 2015, Luke met Meredith, the love of his life and soulmate, and somehow this union made him shine even brighter. They were inseparable, and their love for one another immediate and everlasting. In addition to his wife, parents and sister, Luke leaves behind three nephews, dozens of aunts and uncles, cousins and in-laws, and a legion of friends from around the world who treasured his sincerity, humility, compassion, quiet intelligence, sly humor, and the drive and dedication he exhibited in all his pursuits. A memorial paddle-out will be held Saturday, July 15 at 10am at the base of 45th Street in Manhattan Beach, CA where Luke learned to surf, followed by a party at Luke's home to celebrate his life. Those wishing to honor Luke may donate to The Pine Street Inn in Boston, MA, or volunteer at a local food bank or soup kitchen.</p>		
<p><b>MAZZARA</b>—Brenda, took her last breath June 30th with her two daughters by her side. Her beautiful, kind, loving spirit lives on. She is survived by Vanessa and Caitlin, her grandsons Gabriel, her father Dr. James Mazzara, and three brothers James, Glen, and Craig, as well as many other family members and friends who will never forget this vibrant woman. Services will be held at Frederick Funeral Home and St. Anastasia R.C. Church, Queens.</p> <p><b>NITTOLI</b>—Janice, on June 30, 2017. Caring citizen and friend, beloved wife of Richard Tofel. Funeral service will be held on Wednesday, July 5th, 11:30am at Frank E. Campbell Funeral Chapel, 1076 Madison Avenue at 81st Street.</p> <p><b>TROTT</b>—Stuart H. age 85 passed peacefully on June 29 from lymphoma, surrounded by family members at his home in Manhasset Hills, NY. He was born on January 20, 1932, in Brooklyn, NY, the son of Borntel S. Trott and Madeline Gluck Trott. He earned a B.A. from Harvard University in 1953. After serving in the United States Army he returned to Harvard and was awarded an M.B.A. in 1958. He is survived by his beloved wife of 58 years, the former Phyllis Gordon, daughters Jodi Nagle (Michael), Jessica Denton (David) and Barri Trott, granddaughter Emily Nagle, grandson Jack Nagle and brother Donald Trott. Career highlights include Senior VP and Creative Director of advertising agency Norman, Craig &amp; Kummel and more than two decades as an independent, advertising and marketing consultant. He was interred in the Elmwood cemetery in Great Barrington, MA, not far from his summer home on Lake Buel, his favorite spot since the early 1940's when he first attended summer camp there. The family will be sitting shiva Monday, July 3 from 7pm to 9pm, Tuesday, July 4 from 7pm to 9pm and Wednesday, July 5 from 2pm to 4pm and 7pm to 9pm at 45 Country Village Lane, Manhasset Hills, NY. Donations may be made to The Humane Society or a charity of your choice.</p>		
<p><b>In Memoriam</b> <b>BROOK</b>—Jonathan Edward, July 3, 2015—in our hearts and thoughts always. We miss your brilliant mind and tender spirit, and loving memories endure. Nicole, Juliette, Cassie, Judith, David, Adam, Howard, Fran and so many others</p> <p><b>GREENOUGH</b>—Beverly Sillis (1929-2007) and GRACE (1929-2016) Meredith Holden (1959-2016) Love always and forever, Lindley and Nancy</p>		



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NEWS | CRITICISM

# Arts

The New York Times

MONDAY, JULY 3, 2017 C1  
N

JON CARAMANICA | ALBUM REVIEW



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## The Catharsis of Confession

Jay-Z’s latest album shares space with Beyoncé’s ‘Lemonade,’ but covers additional ground.

WHEN RAPPER SELF-MYTHOLOGIZING was in its infancy, Jay-Z was its most faithful student. He absorbed the art of the boast, and built on that to create one of pop’s most fascinating characters: the street-corner hustler turned multimillionaire, slick and unbothered. Complex emotions often formed the foundation of his tales of ascendancy, but his greatest talent was making his path seem smooth and inevitable. No matter how high the stakes, he remained cold as ice. When you are on top, or racing there, this

is an unimpeachable approach. But when you’ve been reigning for a while, it can come to seem despotic, ungenerous, false. When your equally famous wife lays waste to that manicured image with an album full of personal, musical and political fire, continuing with the old way of doing things is not an option. Evolve or disappear. Find new life or accept death. As an elder statesman — recently the first rapper to be enshrined in the Songwriters Hall of Fame — Jay-Z would have been forgiven for tapping out and letting silence be a kind of victory. Only extreme emotional-spiritual catharsis or extreme stripped-down intimacy would make for a CONTINUED ON PAGE C2



Jay-Z is candid, raw and vulnerable on “4:44,” his 13th studio album.

**Jay-Z**  
“4:44”

JON MEACHAM | THE LONG VIEW

## Headlines That Stand the Test of Time

In three Watergate books, how 1970s Washington resonates with today’s news cycle.

AFTERWARD, SHE couldn’t recall who had the idea first. It was Tuesday, Sept. 4, 1973, and Elizabeth Drew, a newly hired Washington writer for The New Yorker, came in to see the magazine’s editor, William Shawn, after Labor Day weekend. “I told him that I had an intuition that within a year this country would change vice president and president,” Ms. Drew recalled in an introduction to a 40th-anniversary edition of her 1974 book, “Washington Journal: Reporting Watergate and Richard Nixon’s Downfall.” Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, a popular figure with the growing conservative base of the Republican Party, was facing suspicions of accepting bribes for services rendered during his years as governor of Maryland. More important, President Richard M. Nixon seemed incapable of putting Watergate — a catchall term for the White House’s involvement in political espionage, break-ins and subsequent cover-ups — behind him. The result of the conversation: Ms. Drew would begin to write a journal of life in Washington for the magazine. Week after week, in spare, sane prose, with a keen eye and a calm tone, Ms. Drew captured the high political drama and the CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



The columnist Art Buchwald, whose satirical Watergate writings were collected in the 1974 book “I Am Not a Crook.”

GEORGE TAMES/THE NEW YORK TIMES

JASON ZINOMAN  
ON COMEDY

## Erudite Wit, With a Dash Of Weird

Emma Allen freshens venerable tradition as cartoon editor at The New Yorker.

THE NEW YORKER is known for its probing investigative reporting, deep-dive profiles and Pulitzer-winning criticism. But increasingly people are reading it for a few laughs. As the magazine expands its internet presence, the amount of original humor it produces has grown, with comic essays and cartoons often making up about a third of its most popular articles online. In some ways, that’s a return to the roots of the magazine, which began as a Jazz Age humor publication that championed James Thurber, Robert Benchley and Charles Addams, and helped define comedy for decades. “With The New Yorker,” Russell Baker wrote, “American humor began to master the arts of understatement, to refine the crudities of old-fashioned burlesque into satire, to treasure subtlety and wit.” As the new cartoon editor of the magazine, Emma Allen, 29, has become a steward CONTINUED ON PAGE C6



# Making the Best of a Thinner Art Season

Sotheby’s auction results confirmed its position as a place to sell high-end contemporary art in London.

By SCOTT REYBURN

LONDON — The big contemporary art auctions here at the end of June and the beginning of July have traditionally been the finale to a hectic few months in the international art market. But how significant are they now that Christie’s is no longer holding summer contemporary sales in this city, and that more multimillion-dollar business is being done at the Art Basel fair in Switzerland in mid-June? Have wealthy collectors’ minds already left for the Hamptons or Tuscany? These questions hovered in the air before Wednesday night’s contemporary art auction at Sotheby’s.

The results seemed to be a clear validation of the Sotheby’s salesroom on New Bond Street as a place to sell high-end contemporary art the week before the Wimbledon tennis tournament, even if total sales were less than half the 130.4 million pounds, or \$167 million, taken at the equivalent auction in July 2015.

Wednesday’s sale of 41 lots raised £62.4 million with fees, against a low estimate of £44.3 million, up 20 percent from the £52.2 million taken at the equivalent sale a year earlier. Ninety-five percent of the lots this year were successful, helped by 16 of them being guaranteed.

“They’re June sales, and it’s more difficult getting material than in the October season,” said Brett Gorvy, a partner in the New York and London dealership Lévy Gorvy.

“It wasn’t the most exciting material, but they had a sale, there was strong interest and it was profitable,” he added. “Christie’s didn’t compete for the money that was out there.”

About 70 percent of the Sotheby’s lots had never been seen at auction, including a triptych of 1983 Jean-Michel Basquiat canvases, eight feet high and combining areas of overpaint with the artist’s enigmatic texts and private imagery.

Basquiat is attracting more attention than ever at auction, after the Japanese billionaire Yusaku Maezawa paid \$110.5 million at Sotheby’s New York in May for a 1982 painting of a skull.

“It doesn’t mean that every Basquiat is worth twice as much,” said Alexander Branczik, the Sotheby’s head of contemporary art in Europe. His department had estimated the triptych in London at £4 million to £6 million before the New York sale, and maintained that valuation afterward. It was contested by four bidders on Wednesday night and sold for £6.5 million.

The most expensive of the sale’s guaranteed lots was a 20-inch-high Andy Warhol silk screen on canvas, “Self-Portrait,” from 1963-64, derived from a strip of photo-booth images of the artist in sunglasses, valued at as much as £7 million. In pale blue, and one of nine single-panel paintings of the kind, it sold for £6 million, considerably less than the \$11.4 million a version in red sold for in 2014. Like most lots in the auction, the Warhol and the Basquiat went to telephone bidders.

Lots lower down the price scale attracted healthy competition: A 1997-98 Damien Hirst medicine cabinet sculpture, “Eight Over Eight,” which the owner bought for £162,400 at a Sotheby’s auction of fittings from Mr. Hirst’s “Pharmacy” restaurant in

2004, sold for £728,750, compared with a low estimate of £400,000.

But the sale still didn’t attract any work valued at more than \$9 million.

“The sales are thin,” said Christophe Van de Weghe, a dealer based in New York, adding that it had been a long year for the art world. “People are tired.”

The Sotheby’s auction was shortly after Art Basel, where works from private collections sold at higher prices. A 1982 Basquiat painting, “Three Delegates,” priced at \$18 million on the booth of Acquavella Galleries of New York, was one of several confirmed sales over \$10 million. Collectors’ increasing willingness to sell high-value “classic contemporary” works privately through dealers is also having an effect on auctions.

Meanwhile, Christie’s continues to do its own thing, auctioning 32 lots of Impressionist and modern art the night before the Sotheby’s contemporary sale.

Christie’s offered Max Beckmann’s much-exhibited German Expressionist masterwork “Hölle der Vögel” (“Birds’ Hell”), from 1937-38, with a low estimate of £30 million. Owned by a family trust

June sales were better than estimated as lots lower down the price scale attracted healthy competition.



2017 THE ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS, INC./ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; VIA SOTHEBY'S

associated with the New York dealer Richard Feigen, who bought the work in 1983 for \$500,000 from the St. Louis collector Morton D. May, the vision of birds torturing a man, as Nazi-saluting witnesses watched, has long been recognized as one of Beckmann’s most powerful indictments of National Socialism.

But the toughness of German Expressionism can be a hard sell, and the work attracted little bidding, selling in the room to a buyer represented by the dealer Larry Gagosian for £36 million with fees.

The price was, however, more than twice the previous auction high for the artist.

Christie’s took £149.5 million on the night, slightly more than the low estimate. The total was cheekily bolstered by the £1.4 million bid for a 1964 Lucio Fontana and £965,000 achieved for a 1956 Jean-Paul Riopelle, pieces that would normally be included in an auction of postwar and contemporary



A triptych, above right, of 1983 Jean-Michel Basquiat canvases sold for 6.5 million pounds at Sotheby’s in London; and “Self-Portrait,” above left, by Andy Warhol, sold for 6 million pounds. Like most lots in the auction, the works went to telephone bidders.

works.

The only high-value lot to attract intense competition was van Gogh’s 1889 painting “The Reaper.” This was the most admired of 10 studies he made while at an asylum in St-Rémy de Provence, France, inspired by images of agricultural workers by Jean-François Millet. After a flurry of telephone bidding from Asia, the 17-inch-high canvas sold to a client represented by David Kleiweg de Zwaan, a Christie’s New York-based specialist, for £24.2 million, almost double the low estimate.

Can this evolving mix of “Imps and mods” and contemporary auctions maintain London’s reputation as the art world’s last stop before the summer vacation?

Phillips would certainly think so, after the £24.4 million the auction house achieved at a Thursday-night sale of 20th-century and contemporary art. The total was up 105 percent from June last year, and all but two of



2017 THE ESTATE OF JEAN-MICHEL BASQUIAT/ADAGP, PARIS/ARS, VIA SOTHEBY'S

the 31 works sold. The highlight of the evening was a green “Freischwimmer #84” abstract by the German-born photographer Wolfgang Tillmans that soared to £605,000, an auction high for the artist.

The contemporary auction at Sotheby’s the previous night might not have had any eight-figure results, but there were plenty in the \$500,000 to \$5 million range, where fees are generally taken from both the seller and the purchaser. The Hirst cabinet netted Sotheby’s about \$167,000 in buyer’s fees. Auction houses have to pay staff members over the summer months, and Sotheby’s, which posted a net income of \$74.1 million last year after \$4.1 billion in auction sales, lists 54 contemporary art specialists in London and New York.

“Currently, we have no intention of changing what we do in London,” said Mr. Branczik of Sotheby’s. “It’s an important time of year for us.”

## The Catharsis of Confession

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

worthwhile comeback.

On the confidently vulnerable “4:44,” his 13th studio album and first in four years, he has chosen both. Viewed from different angles, “4:44” (Roc Nation) is a long-simmering, eyes-downcast confession; a relaxing of muscles that have been tense for decades; the return of a rule-rewriting mastermind as a moralist and occasional scold; a marketing ploy intended to bolster two second-tier businesses, the streaming service Tidal and the phone company Sprint. (For now, at least, you need one or both to listen to the album, without seeking out a bootleg.)

It is also the first Jay-Z album in a decade that doesn’t pretend to be competing in the present moment. It is the sound of a 47-year-old aesthete working at his own pace, dismantling his facade and reminding himself of all the natural poignancy that the bluster has been obscuring.

“I fall short of what I say I’m all about,” he says on the title track, his apology to his wife, Beyoncé, for the indiscretions that led her to publicly shame him. The album begins with “Kill Jay Z,” an extended tsk-tsk to himself. “You can’t heal what you never reveal,” he raps. “You know you owe the truth/ To all the youth that fell in love with Jay-Z.”

And so the confessions, or certainly what appear to be confessions, pour out.

Yes, he cheated on Beyoncé (the title track, among others); yes, he’s tried therapy (“Smile”); yes, he stabbed the executive Lance Rivera back in 1999 (“Kill Jay Z”); yes, his father’s side of the family was darkened by abuse (“Legacy”); yes, his mother is gay, and was in the closet for decades (“Smile”); yes, he’s fed up with Kanye West’s scattershot antics (“Kill Jay Z,” among others).

That is, assuming everything here is true, and not just the second installment of a multi-album music novel in which he and his wife portray bitter lovers bound together by fate, fame and farce.

Jay-Z has been this candid before, but never quite this naked. These aren’t stories told to fortify a magisterial image but rather



CHAD BATKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jay-Z at Barclays Center in Brooklyn. His latest album lets listeners all the way into his personal life.

Jay-Z  
“4:44”

the exhale of a long-held breath.

In some plain narrative ways, “4:44” is a companion piece to Beyoncé’s “Lemonade.” On the title track, Jay-Z is vividly self-critical: “I’ve seen the innocence leave your eyes/ I still mourn this death,” he tells his wife.

But the two albums also share an emphasis on black self-sufficiency — on “Lemonade,” the argument was sociopolitical; here, it’s largely financial. On “The Story of O. J.,” Jay-Z raps about cross-generational wealth — passing his art collection down to his children — with the same fervor and lyrical gambit he once used to rap about amassing personal wealth (on “U Don’t Know,” in 2001). The kingpin is now just a vessel for tomorrow’s dreams.

The whole of “4:44” was produced by No I.D., who produced much of Common’s essential work, and who prepared a sample-

driven, skin-and-bones, slightly greasy palette for Jay-Z to rap over. Most of the album hovers between 80-90 beats per minute, but feels slower, thanks to the way No I.D. forgoes crispness in favor of beats that slur, drag and bleed. There’s also patina on the vocals. Nothing gleams — not the beats, not the words, not the feelings.

The relative sparseness acts as suction: There are barely any distractions. It’s almost like an unplugged album, a kind of platonic raw course of rapper, producer, sample and beat. In places, it suggests a barebones counterpoint to one of Jay-Z’s masterworks, “The Blueprint,” from 2001, which relied on the steroidal soul-informed production of Mr. West and Just Blaze to echo Jay-Z at his most conceived.

Ornamentation has long served Jay-Z well, so the lack of glamour here is striking. Part of the thrill of listening to him has been

how lustroously he paints the unattainable. That underneath it all is a man full of regret is both obvious and, at times, a bit deflating. When he laments not investing in the now-redeveloped Brooklyn neighborhood Dumbo on “The Story of O. J.,” it’s not clever, just a gripe. And one delivered without much flair.

The qualities that made Jay-Z one of rap’s true savants were his sly wit and the way he threaded himself into the production — few rappers have found more creative ways to

A veteran rapper working at his own pace and not avoiding uncomfortable subjects.

disperse their syllables, and sounded tougher and less fatigued while doing it. The Jay-Z of “4:44” isn’t quite there. He’s evolved from dazzling taunts to ruminations that are sometimes snappy and sometimes lumpy. When snappy, though, they’re exhilarating, like the opening of “Caught Their Eyes,” which has the snarl Jay-Z arrived with fully formed on his 1996 debut album, “Reasonable Doubt”: “I survived reading guys like you/ I’m surprised y’all think y’all can disguise y’all truths.”

At this stage of his career, though, keeping up with the Migos would be a fool’s task. He’s a veteran, and it shows: On three songs, he’s baffled about how the younger generation uses Instagram as a tool of exaggerated street theater. And while the Jay-Z of 10 years ago would have been improvising his way through Young Thug and Playboi Carti anti-flows both as an exercise in hubris and also competitive vim, there’s none of that here.

Rather, he makes a strong case for artistically aging by drilling down to core principles. As albums of late-career reckoning go, “4:44” isn’t quite Gaye or Sinatra or Cash, but it’s on the path. Uncomfortable truths unearthed, demons shouted down, process refined — even when everything melts away, you can still be ice-cold.



# Arts, Briefly

NEWS FROM THE CULTURAL WORLD

## ‘Despicable Me 3’ Is No. 1, but ‘Driver’ Sails

“Despicable Me 3” was the No. 1 movie over the weekend, collecting roughly \$75.4 million. Shrug. Those Minions, right, cannot be stopped.

Two other new wide-release movies — one a hit, one a flop — were quite interesting, however, as box office indicators.

Consider “Baby Driver,” which took in about \$21 million over the weekend, for a total of \$30 million since its Wednesday opening. Directed and written by Edgar Wright and starring Ansel Elgort in the oh-so-cool title role, “Baby Driver” (Sony) had been expected by analysts to sell roughly \$20 million in tickets over its first five days in theaters.

Why did it overperform?

Amid a sea of rote sequels, “Baby Driver,” about a kind-hearted getaway driver with tinnitus and an ever-present iPod, gave ticket buyers something novel. Paul Dergarabedian, a senior media analyst at comScore, noted that critics gave “Baby Driver” near-universal raves, with many citing Mr. Wright’s unique cinematic voice.

Still, the “Baby Driver” results are modest by summer standards. Why should studios invest in originality when sequels like “Despicable Me 3” (Illumination/Universal) usually make more money?

“It keeps our business vital,” said Josh Greenstein, Sony’s president of worldwide marketing and distribution. “When something original, surprising and new comes out of nowhere, it’s a big win for everyone.”

“The House” (New Line/Warner Bros.), starring Will Ferrell and Amy Poehler, also offered insight into ticket buyers: It flopped with about \$9 million in ticket sales, joining “Baywatch,” “Snatched,” “Rough Night,” “CHIPS” and “Fist Fight” in a parade of studio comedy misfires.



ILLUMINATION AND UNIVERSAL PICTURES

Some studio executives are blaming Rotten Tomatoes, the review-aggregation site that has become an indispensable tool for many ticket buyers. According to Rotten Tomatoes, “The House,” which cost about \$40 million to make, received reviews that were only 17 percent positive. No live-action studio comedy has received a score above 50 percent so far this year.

Whatever the reason, there are two more studio comedies arriving this summer, “Girls Trip” and “Logan Lucky,” that will either add to concerns or vanquish them. Until then, Hollywood can take some comfort from the indie comedy “The Big Sick” (Lionsgate/Amazon), which took in \$1.7 million in 71 locations, for a new total of \$2.2 million.

BROOKS BARNES

## Jenner Sisters Stop Selling Music T-Shirts

A T-shirt bearing an image of the hip-hop artist Tupac Shakur was

briefly on sale last week. It featured his photograph in black and white, with two bright yellow letters, “kk,” splashed across his torso.

The item belonged to a line of “vintage” T-shirts marketed online by the celebrity sisters Kendall and Kylie Jenner. The shirts featured photographs and logos of well-known musicians or bands, including Shakur, the Doors, Metallica, Pink Floyd and the Notorious B.I.G.

But that wasn’t all. Each T-shirt was superimposed with a brightly colored photograph of, or logo associated with, the Jenner sisters. They cost \$125 apiece.

Critics of the idea were quick to accuse the sisters of seeking to profit from the musicians’ legacies. The sisters apologized, and said they had stopped selling the T-shirts.

Rolling Stone reported that lawyers representing the Doors sent a cease-and-desist letter to the Jenner sisters. Another pointed rebuke came from the

family of the New York rap artist the Notorious B.I.G., born Christopher Wallace.

“I have no idea why they feel they can exploit the deaths of Tupac and my son Christopher to sell a T-shirt,” Voletta Wallace, Mr. Wallace’s mother, said on Instagram on Thursday. “This is disrespectful, disgusting and exploitation at its worst!”

Ms. Wallace added that her son’s estate had not been contacted regarding the use of any images.

The sisters apologized in posts on Twitter on Thursday. “These designs were not well thought out, and we deeply apologize to anyone that has been upset and/or offended, especially to the families of the artists,” they said. Their representatives did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Both have been accused of cultural appropriation in the past. Kylie has been criticized for clothing and hairstyle choices without giving credit to black women who had earlier popular-

ized similar styles.

And Kendall was called out for starring in a Pepsi commercial in which she joined a march that appeared to be a protest — no particular cause was specified — and then handed a can of Pepsi to a police officer who smiled and shrugged.

JACEY FORTIN

## Actress Files Lawsuit Over ‘Feud’ Portrayal

Olivia de Havilland, who won two Oscars during Hollywood’s golden age, filed a lawsuit on Friday against FX Networks and Ryan Murphy Productions over her gossipy portrayal in the television show “Feud: Bette and Joan.”

“FX defendants misappropriated Olivia de Havilland’s name, likeness and identity without her permission and used them falsely in order to exploit their own commercial interests,” the lawsuit says. Ms. de Havilland, 101, is seeking damages for “emotional harm” and “harm to her reputation,” and is also pushing for an injunction against the use of her name and likeness.

“Feud: Bette and Joan” portrays the decades-long rivalry between Joan Crawford and Bette Davis. Ms. de Havilland and Davis were close friends and starred in four films together, including “Hush . . . Hush, Sweet Charlotte.” In the series, Ms. de Havilland, played by Catherine Zeta-Jones, is an important character, appearing in six episodes as a confidante to Davis and an active participant in the Davis-Crawford drama.

The lawsuit rejects both the quotes attributed to Ms. de Havilland and the overall tone of the portrayal. “Olivia de Havilland has made efforts, spent time and money, protecting her well-defined public image as one who does not engage in gossip and other unkind, ill-mannered behavior,” the lawsuit reads.

PETER LIBBEY

## Ready, Set, Go

YOUR DAILY ARTS FIX



### AMERICAN BALLET

**THEATER** “Tchaikovsky Spectacular” ends the season with works including “Mozartiana.” 7:30 p.m. at the Metropolitan Opera. 212-362-6000, [abt.org](http://abt.org)



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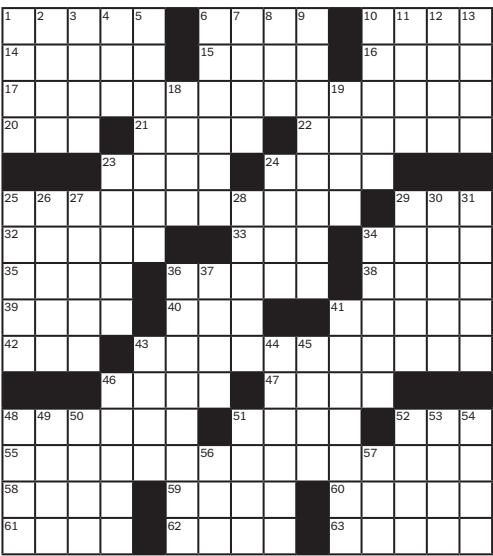
ST. MARTIN'S GRIFFIN

# Crossword

Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY RANDALL J. HARTMAN

- ACROSS**
- 1 Tokyo's land
- 6 How Lindbergh flew across the Atlantic
- 10 “Atlas Shrugged” author Ayn
- 14 Spitting bullets
- 15 Minnesota baseballer
- 16 Skin soother
- 17 Air Force smart weapon
- 20 Atlanta-based cable channel
- 21 Cry after an errant golf shot
- 22 Gives a grand speech
- 23 Like good Scotch
- 24 Irritated state
- 25 Pioneering high jump maneuver of the 1960s
- 29 Not guzzle
- 32 Sean of “The Lord of the Rings”
- 33 “Apollo 13” director Howard
- 34 Superboy's love interest \_\_\_ Lang
- 35 \_\_\_ tea (summer drink)
- 36 Illegal payment
- 38 Slightly cracked, as a door
- 39 Superman's love interest Lois \_\_\_
- DOWN**
- 40 Fish eggs
- 41 Jack's fairy tale foe
- 42 Sign outside a sold-out show
- 43 Thanksgiving entree
- 46 Noggin
- 47 Brewery containers
- 48 Captain America carries one
- 51 Wealthy
- 52 “Elvis \_\_\_ left the building”
- 55 1956 Dean Martin/Jerry Lewis comedy
- 58 Different
- 59 With 41-Down, “Alice's Restaurant” singer
- 60 Ancient region on the Aegean Sea
- 61 One who might expel a student
- 62 Say “HEY YOU!” e.g.
- 63 Writer \_\_\_ Allan Poe
- 1 Say “I don't” to instead of “I do”?
- 2 Yemeni or Omani
- 3 Hail Mary, for one



7/3/17

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SOB A PLASTIC BAG  
THEM LISTEN HERE  
EDNA I THINK I CAN  
REST EARN SANAME  
EAT IT FATE AMIS  
ORE ATOMS UTES  
SMITHERS BRO  
ENVIED SEGWAY  
CANN MATINEES  
CHAI MILAN RAO  
POEM CANT GROHL  
ROLE MODELS ELSA  
OPERASERIA HOUR  
SENATERACE AGRI  
TRASHTALKS BYES

- 4 Enjoyed a buffet
- 5 “Weapon” with foam darts
- 6 Solidly built
- 7 Source of pain, in kidspeak
- 8 Tupperware top
- 9 Personal interview
- 10 Capital of Morocco
- 11 Oodles
- 12 U.S. city less than 150 miles from the International Date Line
- 13 Belles of the ball
- 18 Ending with church or movie
- 19 Result of a melting icicle
- 23 Tolerate
- 24 Neatnik's opposite
- 25 Gets an F
- 26 Award refused by Marlon Brando and George C. Scott
- 27 Shorthand writer
- 28 Part of a Happy Meal
- 29 Pat of “Wheel of Fortune”
- 30 Asinine
- 31 Republicans or Democrats
- 34 Dens
- 36 Theater district thoroughfare
- 37 Appropriate word found in 36-Down
- 41 See 59-Across
- 43 Depend (on)
- 44 Luke Perry or Jason Priestley, once
- 45 \_\_\_ Bell (restaurant chain)
- 46 \_\_\_ of Troy
- 48 Lose, as fur
- 49 Problem with a sock
- 50 Rick's love in “Casablanca”
- 51 Item in a restaurant basket
- 52 Like a jury that can't reach a decision
- 53 Himalayas setting
- 54 One of 50 on the U.S. flag
- 56 Mine car load
- 57 Physique, informally

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**THE BEGUILED**  
10:00, 10:40, 11:20am, 12:20, 1:00, 1:40, 2:40, 3:20, 4:00, 5:00, 5:40, 6:20, 7:20, 8:00, 8:40, 9:40, 10:20, 10:55pm

**THE B-SIDE: ELSA DORFMAN'S PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHY**  
10:05am, 12:15, 2:30, 4:55, 7:10, 9:25pm

**MARIE CURIE**  
10:00am, 12:10, 2:35, 5:05, 7:30, 9:55pm

**MAUDIE**  
10:45am, 1:30, 4:15, 7:00, 9:45pm

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**13 MINUTES**  
12:15, 2:30, 4:50, 7:10, 9:30PM

**MARIE CURIE**  
11:05AM, 3:05, 5:20, 7:40, 9:45PM

**BEATRIZ AT DINNER**  
11:40AM, 1:10, 2:50, 4:30, 6:30, 8:30, 10:10PM

**MAUDIE**  
12:00, 2:25, 4:45, 7:05, 9:25PM

**THE EXCEPTION**  
11:00AM, 1:00, 3:15, 7:45, 9:50PM

**THE WOMEN'S BALCONY**  
11:30AM, 1:30, 3:40, 6:00, 10:00PM

**MY COUSIN RACHEL**  
1:05, 5:25, 8:00PM

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**THE LITTLE HOURS** ♫  
12:15, 2:30, 3:00, 4:45, 7:10, 7:45, 9:45

**BEATRIZ AT DINNER** ♫ ♫  
12:00, 12:40, 2:00, 4:00, 5:00, 7:05, 9:00, 9:30

**LOST IN PARIS** ♫  
(Partially Subtitled)  
12:20, 2:15, 4:30, 7:00, 9:05

**YOUR NAME** ♫  
(Subtitled)  
12:10, 2:25, 4:40, 7:15, 9:20

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—CHARLIE PHILLIPS, THE GUARDIAN

**“STUNNING.**  
**A WIDE-EYED, JAW-DROPPING LOOK AT THE BATTLE AGAINST ISIS.”**  
—KATIE WALSH, THE PLAYLIST

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# KenKen

2÷	2−	3−
		12×
12×		
5+		4

3+	11+	1−
3÷	2	16×
3÷	5	12×
	12×	10×
20×	5−	
	30×	3

Answers to Previous Puzzles

1	3	2	4
3	1	4	2
2	4	3	1
4	2	1	3
6	2	3	5
4	5	1	2
2	6	4	3
5	1	6	4
1	3	2	6
3	4	5	1

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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ELISABETH VINCENTELLI | CRITIC’S NOTEBOOK

# Sampling Cultural Imports From Canada

The Soulpepper Theater Company of Toronto is in residency in New York.

IF JUSTIN TRUDEAU tweets to encourage people to check out the Soulpepper Theater Company on Canada Day, who am I to say no? The Canadian prime minister knows whereof he speaks, having once taught drama, among other subjects — let that sink in for a second, dear American reader. But the tweet also shows that by promoting Canadian culture, Mr. Trudeau cannily understands how soft power works.

Soulpepper is an institution in Toronto, where it was founded in 1998. You would think that with a multivenue complex and a training school, as well as many of Toronto’s performing-arts awards, the Doras, on its mantel, the company would bask in its success and continue to exert its influence at home. But this summer it has dispatched 65 artists with support staff to New York for a monthlong residency that will feature plays, musical revues and cabaret evenings, all presented in repertory on the Pershing Square Signature Center’s three stages.

**Dispatching 65 artists with support staff for a monthlong showcase at the Signature Center.**

Partaking of an hourslong tasting sample on Saturday — Canada Day — was a thought-provoking experience, and it was not just about what happened onstage. When a foreign company comes to New York to display its wares for a month, you start pondering things besides dramaturgy, lighting or acting.

The first line of inquiry is how little we know about Canadian stage works in the United States.

Quick, what comes to mind? Right now that would be “Come From Away,” the hit Broadway musical about the planes detoured to Newfoundland after 9/11. But after that it’s a jumble involving “The Drowsy Chaperone,” the superstar director Robert Lepage, Cirque du Soleil and its neo-circus legacy, the Stratford Festival — and “Slings & Arrows,” the television series that brilliantly satirized Stratford. Take a deeper dive, and the playwrights Michel Tremblay and Daniel MacIvor may turn up.

Even given the United States’ myopia and reflexive laziness when it comes to opening up to other countries’ cultural exports, the lack of exposure to this northern neighbor’s theater feels odd, especially considering the outsize influence Canada has always had on pop music and comedy in the United States. Admittedly, some of the most dynamic, boundary-pushing Canadian theater has been in French — that language being closely associated with art, identity and politics in Quebec — and overall stage productions can be a bear to move. But we don’t even see American productions of many Canadian works, besides rarities like “Come From Away” or the wonderful Off Broadway musical “Ride the Cyclone.” In view of the steady stream of British imports hitting our shores — some of them epically British, like “The Play That Goes Wrong” — you have to wonder: Why are there not more Canadian shows in New York?



PHOTOGRAPHS BY VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



I am obliged to report that a day watching Soulpepper offerings did not provide any answers. The most utterly Canadian offering I caught was “True North,” a mix of songs and poetry aided by projections that aims to delineate the country’s identity. The overall impression was: Brrrrr, it must be cold up there, judging by the number of references to snow, ice and hockey. More seriously, one got the feeling of a country proud of its vastness and wildness, but quietly elegiac about these qualities rather than boastful. There was no sense of a Manifest Destiny, which may help explain Canada’s disinterest in asserting superiority.

Sadly, the show’s song list shunned re-

Clockwise from top, Daniel Williston, center, and other performers in “True North,” a Soulpepper offering of songs and poetry aided by projections, on Canada Day; Canadian flags; and poutine, as served at a buffet at Pershing Square Signature Center.

cent material by Canadian superstars like the Weeknd or Justin Bieber, or even Carly Rae Jepsen’s “Call Me Maybe,” arguably among the decade’s best hits. These songs might have provided a welcome counterbalance to the more somber, possibly predictable selections by the likes of Buffy Sainte-Marie, Neil Young and Joni Mitchell — whose “Both Sides Now” was given a heart-breaking conversational rendering by Hunter Cardinal, a first-year student at the Soulpepper Academy.

Soulpepper also brought its commercial smash “Kim’s Convenience,” set in a deli run by a Canadian-Korean family. This comedy by Ins Choi did so well for Soulpepper that it has been adapted into an equally successful CBC sitcom. At the very least, “Kim’s Convenience” is but one illustration of a country justifiably proud of the way it has been handling immigration.

Politics were never far from the surface on Canada Day at the Signature Center,

even if nobody overtly pointed out that since January, Canada has de facto supplanted the United States as a beacon of tolerance and openness. “As long as that difference doesn’t reinforce smugness” — God forbid! — “it’s created opportunities for us,” said Brad Lepp, Soulpepper’s communications director.

Still, a big question looms: By which standards will Soulpepper’s monthlong sojourn be evaluated? What will make it a success or a failure: The number of positive reviews? Attendance? In a mildly critical article, The Globe and Mail raised the issue of the endeavor’s price tag and wondered, “Is this just an ego trip?”

The reality is that many projects such as this one — funded by the theater company, private donors and the Canadian government — barely make a ripple in the United States, and have more of an impact back home. We may not see more Canadian plays in New York, but Canadian artists will return transformed, in some unquantifiable way, by the experience, and will draw from it for their next projects. Would that be a failure? Hardly.

I can only hope that the United States will adopt the poutine skins offered at a buffet, sponsored by the Canadian consulate in New York, that concluded Canada Day at Signature. At last a mad genius has found a way to turn poutine, that dastardly Québécois combination of French fries, gravy and cheese curds, into finger food by layering it on top of potato skins. Let’s not forget that the most direct path to Americans’ heart is via the belly.

# Two Ballet Pros Make a Foray Into Rumba

With flashy moves and quick turns, veteran dancers take to a Lincoln Center stage.

By MARINA HARSS

It was a steamy Friday night in New York, but that didn’t keep the crowds from coming out to dance at Midsummer Night Swing at Damrosch Park at Lincoln Center. The open-air dance party, now in its 29th season, runs through mid-July.

The theme on Friday was ballroom. As the band, Margi and the Dapper Dots, started in on a rumba, “Sway,” it was joined onstage by two dancers, whose highly coordinated moves soon caught people’s eyes. The dancers were Cassandra Trenary and James Whiteside, both from American Ballet Theater, which has been performing next door at the Met for the past seven weeks. Ms. Trenary is a promising young soloist, Mr. Whiteside a principal dancer.

Their routine, peppered with dramatic pauses, tricky partnering moves and quick, flashy turns, opened with a comic flourish. She stumbled on, teetering in her high heels, pretending to be drunk. He acted the part of the overbearing roué, dragging her onto the dance floor.

Both admitted after their dance that they knew little about rumba except what they gleaned from a quick perusal of YouTube.

“Yeah, this is pretty much rumba 101,” Mr. Whiteside said.

Echoed Ms. Trenary, “We’re kind of embarrassed, because there are probably some real rumba dancers out there.”

Mr. Whiteside developed the choreography over two weeks, between Ballet Theater rehearsals, with “much input, assistance and collaboration from Cassie.” What they lacked in genuine ballroom technique they made up in verve and precision.

Like many American dancers, both studied a variety of dance styles growing up, including hip-hop, jazz and tap, before settling on ballet. On occasion, Ms. Trenary still takes “heels class” — a dance class performed in high heels for people interested in dancing in music videos. In other words, they’re not cookie-cutter ballet dancers.



The American Ballet Theater dancers Cassandra Trenary and James Whiteside doing the rumba at Midsummer Night Swing in Damrosch Park at Lincoln Center.

**Midsummer Night Swing**  
Through July 15 at Lincoln Center, Manhattan; 212-875-5456; lincolncenter.org.

JULIETA CERVANTES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MIKE HALE | CRITIC’S NOTEBOOK

# Like Your Favorite Crime TV, but French

Are you a fan of ‘Homeland,’ ‘Broadchurch’ and ‘Midsomer Murders’? Let some Gallic series scratch your itch.

HOW CAN YOU TELL you’re watching a French television detective? There are moments when it’s obvious, as when Commissaire Magellan, hero of the long-running “Magellan,” uncovers a clandestine affair and tells his sergeant: “At last, a little sex. About time.” I don’t think we’ve heard that on “NCIS” lately.

Going by three French or partly French crime dramas now airing in the United States, though, the similarities outweigh the differences. In the international TV marketplace, a cop show is a cop show (or a spy show is a spy show), and English-speaking viewers checking out “The Bureau,” “Magellan” or “The Tunnel” will quickly feel at home.

One note: While a plethora of foreign series of all types are available for bingeing, these shows, even the ones on streaming services, are being released weekly — each is two to four episodes into its season, a perfect time to sample.

**‘The Bureau’**  
*SundanceNow, new episodes on Thursdays. Substitute for “Homeland.”*

A critical and ratings hit in France, “Le Bureau des Légendes” — the original title refers to the elaborate fake identities created for undercover agents — is set in the French equivalent of the C.I.A., and much of the action takes place in the Middle East.

The parallels to “Homeland” extend to the troubled psyche of the main character, an agent with the code name Malotru (played by Mathieu Kassovitz of “Amélie”). His problems are caused not by brain chemistry but by the six years he spent in deep cover in Syria. In Season 3, the consequences of his time there are still playing out. He’s been captured by the Islamic State, and he spends a fair bit of the first two episodes in a wooden box.

“The Bureau” is clearly shot on a smaller budget than “Homeland” — even though it uses Moroccan locations, the Middle Eastern scenes can have a bargain-base-ment look. But it has the immediacy, tight pacing and sufficiently believable plot complications a show of its type requires; it may not deliver the action (and acting) highs of “Homeland,” but moment to moment it can be more psychologically and politically credible.

With Malotru in a box, Season 3 gives more space to other characters, especially women: the handler Marie-Jeanne (Florence Loiret-Caille), the spy Marina (Sara Giraudeau), the Syrian scholar Nadia (Zineb Triki). Four or five separate plot lines have developed in the early episodes, connected to attempts to free Malotru but deftly tied in to larger questions about bureau politics and the future of Syria.

**‘Magellan’**  
*MHz Choice, new episodes on Tuesdays. Substitute for “Midsomer Murders.”*

“Magellan” is new to the streaming service MHz Choice, but it’s been around: Its six seasons ran in France from 2009 to 2016. The polar opposite of “The Bureau,” it’s a cozy-mystery cop show set in a bucolic provincial town, and its similarities to the long-running British series “Midsomer Murders” are legion. If you’re not afraid to admit



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BERNARD FAU/JLA

Top, Clémence Poésy in “The Tunnel”; above from left, Jacques Spiesser and Bernard Alane in “Magellan”; Mathieu Kassovitz in “The Bureau.”

you’re a “Midsomer” fan, you should start watching “Magellan” immediately.

MHz is working its way through the first season, which introduces Simon Magellan (Jacques Spiesser), a detective in the fictitious Saignac (filmed in and around Lille, in northern France), a sleepy, picturesque town with a surprisingly high murder rate. Magellan, a widower with two daughters, is curmudgeonly but sneaky-hip in the vein of Tom Barnaby, the original “Midsomer” detective. Unlike the married Barnaby, Magellan can date — he has an on-again, off-again liaison with a reporter — and his daughters can get up to mischief, like placing a personals ad without his knowledge.

The conventions are in plain view — the pompous provincials who make Magellan’s

life difficult; the eager sergeant who’s practically a member of the family — but if they’re to your taste, you won’t find them better executed.

**‘The Tunnel’**  
*PBS, check local listings. Substitute for “Broadchurch.”*

Titled “The Tunnel: Sabotage” in its second season, this angsty series set on either side of the Channel Tunnel is a British-French production, with about 25 percent of the action shot in France. PBS has shown three of the season’s eight episodes (streaming at pbs.org), and they’ve been top-notch — tense and complicated but with less of the over-the-top shock value that characterized Season 1.



CANAL+

Comparing the series to “Broadchurch” might seem superfluous when it’s already a remake of another popular drama, the Danish-Swedish show “The Bridge.” But for Americans, the pairing of Stephen Dillane as the empathetic British detective and Clémence Poésy as his decidedly nonempathetic French counterpart will recall how essential the interplay of David Tennant and Olivia Colman is to “Broadchurch.”

Mr. Dillane and Ms. Poésy are both very good, this time in a story involving terrorism and airplanes. With “Broadchurch” apparently finished after its current season, our appetite for odd-couple buddy-cop humor will have to be satisfied in the future by the third and final season of “The Tunnel,” scheduled for next year.

JASON ZINOMAN | ON COMEDY

# Erudite Wit, With a Dash of Weird

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

of this tradition. In an interview in her office at 1 World Trade Center, she said promoting the kind of refined wit the magazine has long been known for mattered less to her than publishing voices that are genuinely funny and representative of comedy today.

“I don’t feel beholden to finding the next Benchley or a Benchley knockoff,” she said. “I like things that are witty. I also like dumb fart jokes. The high-low spread is much more interesting than trying to mummify a thing and keep presenting it all over and over again.”

In May, Ms. Allen replaced the longtime cartoon editor, Robert Mankoff, who has moved to Esquire, where he is its new humor editor. Mr. Mankoff was the star of a 2015 documentary, “Very Semi-Serious,” that showcased the magazine’s process of sifting through 1,000 cartoons every week to settle on the 15 or so that make it into print. Every Tuesday, artists still come into the office to pitch their cartoons directly to the cartoon editor.

With an easy, self-deprecating laugh, Ms. Allen described her first exposure to running this system. (When editors at The New Yorker turn down a pitch for an article, they rarely do it face to face.) “It took me the first 10 people being, ‘I’m so sorry, I’m so nervous,’ and they were like, ‘I’m so sorry, I’m so nervous;’” she said, with two weeks under her belt. “They were like: ‘We’re trying to sell you work.’ And I was like: ‘I’m trying to sell myself.’ I’ve been buying them pastries, literally buttering them up.”

Ms. Allen has a sprawling set of responsibilities: She also edits the daily cartoons for The New Yorker online; works on video and radio humor pieces for the magazine; runs its humor Twitter account; and for three years has edited Daily Shouts, comic essays that have become one of the most popular features on the site. (According to the magazine, in the past three months, traffic to those essays is up 60 percent from last year.)

Her ability to find new voices for Daily Shouts is what first drew the attention of



ANNA WEBBER/GETTY IMAGES

The New Yorker’s editor, David Remnick. “She was bringing in people and things that I hadn’t heard before, and sometimes you need to reinvigorate parts of the magazine,” he said by phone, adding, “We need to have a deeper exploration of the web, as far as cartooning.”

Ms. Allen, who grew up on the Upper West Side, has in some ways been preparing for this job her whole life. As a child, she cut out The New Yorker cartoons and filed them with “an archival drive” matched only, she said, by her collection of photos of Leonardo DiCaprio. She attended Brearley School in Manhattan, where, she joked, her comic career was born. “I went to an all-

girls school for 13 years whose mascot is the beaver,” she said. “You cannot come out at the other end of that without a sense of humor.”

After graduating from Yale — where her humor column masqueraded as an advice column for the school newspaper — she worked in media, often covering the art world. She wrote a funny feature for The New York Observer recapping the reality show “Work of Art,” and started at The New Yorker as an assistant to the articles editor Susan Morrison (who is currently working on a book about Lorne Michaels), occasionally writing, then editing Talk of the Town pieces.

**‘As much as I like observational gags, I also like things that are more surreal.’**

EMMA ALLEN  
CARTOON EDITOR  
FOR THE NEW YORKER

After taking over Daily Shouts, she brought in sharp young comedians like Megan Amram, one of the funniest voices on Twitter, and up-and-coming comic writers like Emma Rathbone (“GLOW”) and Hallie Cantor (“Lady Dynamite”). And she pushed for more radio and video pieces.

Finding new voices for cartoons may be more challenging, because there are so few outlets producing one-panel gags, but also because readers and artists have come to expect something very specific from The New Yorker cartoon, the gently observed comedy-of-manners-style that “Seinfeld” lampooned in an episode in which Elaine confronts an editor who can’t explain the joke of a cartoon.

When asked about how her tastes differ from her predecessor’s, she said, “I think I have a slightly weirder sense of humor.” She added later, “As much as I like observational gags, I also like things that are more surreal.”

Ms. Allen said that she hoped to expand the kinds of cartooning online, including trying more work with multiple panels and pairing joke writers with cartoonists on some projects. While she has had success finding traffic online, attracting more online readers she added that predicting what will do well is futile, pointing to a Daily Shouts piece by Amy Collier. “It’s about a guy whose Tinder profile is him holding a fish,” she said, shrugging. “It blew up.”

The Trump administration has ushered in more political comedy at The New Yorker, as it has at many other news media outlets, and Ms. Allen said she worried that “an exhaustion” could set in. While she said she has catholic taste, she does have pet peeves.

“I do think there’s a type of regressive — that old wife — sitcom humor that persists somehow,” she said, adding that they have a shorthand in the cartoon department when they see a joke like that. “I’ve never really watched ‘Everybody Loves Raymond’ but whenever there’s a joke about a nagging wife or whatever, we’re like, ‘Raymond!’ Then she added: “And I like Ray Romano.”



EVENING											
	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00
2 WCBS	The Insider (N)	Entertainment Tonight (N) (G)	Kevin Can Wait "Kevin's Good Story." (PG)	Man With a Plan "The Talk." (PG)	Mom The women eat marijuana cookies. (14)	Life in Pieces (PG)	Scorpion "Faux Money Maux Problems." A group wants to ruin the U.S. economy. (14)	CBS 2 News at 11PM (N)	The Late Show With Stephen Colbert Scarlett Johansson; Bill Burr. (PG) (11:35)		
4 WNBC	Extra (N) (PG)	Access Hollywood (N) (PG)	American Ninja Warrior "Kansas City Qualifiers." Competitors face challenging obstacles. (N) (PG)					Spartan: Ultimate Team Challenge Six new teams compete.	News4 NY at 11 (N)	The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon Dwayne Johnson; Ellie Kemper. (14) (11:34)	
5 WNYW	Modern Family "Planes, Trains and Cars." (PG)	Modern Family "Disneyland." (PG)	So You Think You Can Dance "Los Angeles Auditions No. 2." Hopefuls perform for the judges. (PG)	Los Superhuman "Extreme Awareness." People who have special skills compete. (N) (PG) (9:01)			Fox 5 News at 10 (N)	Fox 5 Special: World Citizen	The Big Bang Theory (14)	The Simpsons "How Lisa Got Her Marge Back."	TMZ Live (PG)
7 WABC	Jeopardy! (N) (G)	Wheel of Fortune "Fabulous Food." (G)	The Bachelorette Rachel goes out with both Kenny and Lee. (14)					Battle of the Network Stars "TV Sitcoms vs. TV Kids." Bronson Pinchot, Tom Arnold and more. (10:01)	Eyewitness News at 11 (N)	Jimmy Kimmel Live Sarah Silverman; Jimmy Butler. (14) (11:35)	
9 WWOR	Family Feud (PG)	The Big Bang Theory (14)	Law & Order: Special Victims Unit "Locum." (14)	Law & Order: Special Victims Unit "Shattered." (14)	Family Feud (PG)	Family Feud (PG)	Chasing News (N)	Inside Edition (N) (PG)	Anger Management (14)		
11 WPIX	Two and a Half Men (14)	Two and a Half Men (14)	Supergirl "Changing." An alien drains Supergirl's powers. (14)	Whose Line Is It Anyway? (14)	Whose Line Is It Anyway? (14)	PIX11 News at Ten (N)	Seinfeld "The Chaperone." (G)	Seinfeld "The Shoes." (PG)	Friends Ross plays rugby. (14)		
13 WNET	PBS NewsHour (Season Premiere)	Antiques Roadshow "Vintage Austin." (N) (G)	Antiques Roadshow "Vintage Milwaukee." Tiffany lamp. (G)					POV "The War Show." Syria's civil war. (N) (MA)	Charlie Rose (N) (PG)		
21 WLWJ	MetroFocus	SciTech Now (G)	My Mother and Other Strangers	Granchester on Masterpiece (N)	Unlocking Sherlock (14)			MetroFocus	World News	POV (N) (MA)	
25 WNYE	Blackademics	Brooklyn Savvy	NY Stories	Her Big Idea	Women/Media	Liberty or Death (G)	Start Up (G)	Roadtrip Nation	Arts in Context	Liberty or Death	
31 WFPX	Criminal Minds "Pariahville." (14)	Criminal Minds "Target Rich." (14)	Criminal Minds "Target Rich." (14)	Criminal Minds "Awake." (14)	Criminal Minds "Internal Affairs."			Criminal Minds "Future Perfect."	Criminal Minds		
41 WXTV	La Rosa de Guadalupe (N) (14)	José de Egipto	La Doble Vida de Estela Carrillo	Rosario Tijeras	Noticias 41	Noticiero Uni	Deportivo				
47 WNUJ	Caso Cerrado: Edición Estelar (N)	Jenni Rivera: Mariposa de Barrio	Buddy Holly	No Aging	La Querida del Centauro (N) (14)	El Señor de los Cielos (N) (14)	Noticiero Tele	Titulares y Más	La Querida		
48 WRNN	Newsline (N)	Wellness Hour	Antiques Roadshow (N) (G)	Antiques Roadshow Tiffany lamp.	The Circus Fire			POV "The War Show." Syria's civil war. (N) (MA)			
49 CPTV	PBS NewsHour	Nature "Animal Childhood." (PG)	Nova "Why Sharks Attack." (PG)	WLNy News at 9PM (N)	N.J. Docs	3,2,1 Fireworks	NJTV News	One on One	Charlie Rose (N)		
55 WLNY	2 Broke Girls	2 Broke Girls	Dr. Phil (14)	WMBc News & CBS Great Sat	Nip&Tuck	Paid Program	Sexy Hair Care	Darkspots	Paid Program		
63 WMBC	Signs of aging	Regrowth	Sermon Time	Change-World	WMBc News & CBS Great Sat	Nip&Tuck	Paid Program	Sexy Hair Care	Darkspots	Paid Program	
68 WFUT	La Candidata	Totalmente Diva	El Benamado			Noticias 41	Noticiero Uni	Laura (14)			

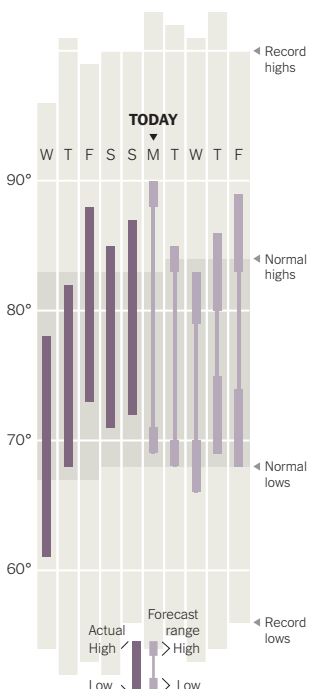
PREMIUM CABLE											
FLIX	1408 (2007). John Cusack, Samuel L. Jackson. (PG-13) (6:15)	Bangkok Dangerous (2008). Hit man falls for deaf-mute Asian woman. Inspid update of shallow original. (R)			Battle Royale (2001). Tatsuya Fujiwara, Aki Maeda. Ninth-graders hold annual battle to the death. Spicier than "Hunger Games." (9:45)			Cinderella Man (2005). Russell Crowe, Renée Zellweger. (PG-13) (11:40)			
HBO	The Nice Guys	Last Week Tonight	Mission: Impossible 2 (2000). Tom Cruise, Dougray Scott. Recruiting jewel thief. Self-destructive sequel. (PG-13)		Planet of the Apes		★ The Conjuring 2 (2016). Patrick Wilson, Vera Farmiga. Paranormal investigators battle London poltergeist. Scary. (R) (10:20)				
HBO2	Game of Thrones "The Winds of Winter." Cersei executes a plan. (MA)	Silicon Valley (MA) (8:10)	Ballers "Pilot." (MA) (8:40)	Vice (14) (9:15)	★ Speed (1994). Keanu Reeves, Sandra Bullock. Bomb on a bus. Savvy plotting and walk-to-wall action. (R) (9:45)		Suicide Squad (2016). Will Smith, Jared Leto. (PG-13) (11:45)				
MAX	Flight of the Phoenix (2004). Dennis Quaid. (PG-13) (6:05)	Any Given Sunday (1999). Al Pacino, Cameron Diaz. Pro football, via Oliver Stone. Crude morality play. (R)			★ Morgan (2016). Bioengineered child has a violent streak. Oops, there goes another scientist. (R) (10:40)		★ The Forest (2016). (PG-13) (12:15)				
SHO	Twin Peaks: The Return "Part 3." Call for help. (MA)	Twin Peaks: The Return "Part 4." brings back some memories. (14)			★ Free State of Jones (2016). Matthew McConaughey, Gugu Mbatha-Raw. Farmer leads rebellion against Confederacy. Riveting visual history lesson. (R)		★ Lincoln (2012). Lincoln plots to abolish slavery. Thrilling civics lesson.				
SHO2	The Affair "308." Alison has a sobering realization. (MA)	The Affair "309." Noah's world collapses. (MA)			The Affair "310." Noah's visit distracts Juliette. (MA)		Snowden (2016). Joseph Gordon-Levitt, Shailene Woodley. Former CIA employee Edward Snowden leaks classified info. (R)		Halloween (2007). (R) (12:15)		
STARZ	Outlander "Not in Scotland Anymore." (MA)	Power "Things Are Going to Get Worse." Ghost faces harassment.			National Treasure: Book of Secrets (2007). Nicolas Cage, Jon Voight. The whole archaeology gang is back. Just as inane as the original. (PG) (9:01)		Power "Things Are Going to Get Worse." (MA) (11:08)		Pirates of the Caribbean: End		
STZNC	★ Patton (1970). George C. Scott, Karl Malden. (PG) (5:08)	Sons of Liberty "A Dangerous Game." Sam Adams turns to wealthy John Hancock. (Part 1 of 3) (PG)			Sons of Liberty "The Uprising." Paul Revere warns the Colonists. (Part 2 of 3) (PG) (9:33)		Sons of Liberty "Independence." The Battles of Lexington and Concord. (Part 3 of 3) (PG) (11:03)				
TMC	Sleeping With Other People (2015). Jason Sudeikis. (R) (6:15)	Mother's Day (2016). Jennifer Aniston, Kate Hudson. Intertwined stories of mothers and daughters. Goopy, glossy mess. (PG-13)			America's Sweethearts (2001). Julia Roberts, Billy Crystal. (PG-13)		The Boy (2016). Lauren Cohan, Rupert Evans. (PG-13) (11:45)				

CABLE												
	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00	
A&E	The First 48 "Senior Year." A high-school senior is shot to death. (14)	The First 48 "The Invitation." A young man shot to death at a party. (G)	The First 48 "The Invitation." A young man shot to death at a party. (G)		O.J.: Made in America "Part Two." (Part 2 of 5) (14)		O.J. Simpson polishes his image.		The First 48 "Final Shift." (11:13)	The First 48 (14) (11:29)	The First 48 (14) (12:01)	
AHC	The World at War "Remember." (G)		Hitler: Fueling the Nazi Fire (PG)		Apocalypse: Hitler (Part 1 of 2) (14)		Apocalypse: Hitler (Part 2 of 2) (14)		Hitler: Fueling the Nazi Fire (PG)		Hitler	
AMC	Clash of the Titans (2010). Sam Worthington, Liam Neeson. Son of Zeus on dangerous journey. Self-conscious kitsch. (PG-13) (6:30)				Preacher "Damsels." The mission points to New Orleans. (N) (MA)		Preacher "Damsels." The mission points to New Orleans. (MA) (10:03)		Preacher "Damsels." The mission points to New Orleans. (MA) (11:06)		Clash of the Titans (2010). (12:09)	
APL	Alaska: Last Frontier		Alaska: Last Frontier		Edge of Alaska: Return Range		Edge of Alaska: Return Range		Expedition Mungo (14)		Edge of Alaska	
BBCA	Star Trek: Voyager (PG)		Star Trek: Voyager (PG)		Star Trek: Voyager "Mortal Coil."		Star Trek: Voyager (PG)		Star Trek: Voyager "The Gift." (PG)		Star Trek	
BET	Hustle & Flow (2005). Terrence Howard. Pimp wants to rap his way out of his dead-end life. Volatile mixture of slickness and sincerity. (R) (5:55)				Takers (2010). Matt Dillon, Paul Walker. Stylish robbers vs. stressed-out cops. GQ noir. (PG-13)							Martin "Homeo and Juliet." (PG)
BLOOM	Bloomberg Daybreak: Asia (N) (Live)				Bloomberg Markets: Asia (N) (Live) (G)				Bloomberg Technology		Bloom. Markets	
BRV	The Real Housewives of Orange County "Baptism by Fire." (14)		The Real Housewives of Orange County (Part 1 of 3) (14)		The Real Housewives of Orange County (Part 2 of 3) (14)		The Real Housewives of Orange County (Part 3 of 3) (14)		Watch What Happens Live	The Real Housewives of Orange County "Uncensored." (14)		
CBSSN	Auto Racing Pirelli World Challenge GT.			Auto Racing Pirelli World Challenge GT.			Poker Night		Poker Night in America presents		Poker Night	
CMT	Bedtime Stories (2008). Adam Sandler, Keri Russell. (PG)				Bedtime Stories (2008). Adam Sandler, Keri Russell. (PG)				Steve Austin's Broken Skull		Steve Austin's	
CN	Ben 10 (G)	Wrlld, Gumball	King of the Hill		American Dad		Cleveland Show	American Dad	Bob's Burgers	Bob's Burgers	Family Guy (14)	
CNBC	Shark Tank Kids seek an investor for their idea. (PG)		Shark Tank Flavored mix-and-match lip balm. (PG)		Shark Tank A darts-like card game. (PG)		American Greed "From Peanuts to Sick Millions." (N) (PG)		American Greed "The Playbo of Indiana." (PG)		American Greed (PG)	
CNN	Erin Burnett OutFront (N)		The Seventies "Television Gets Real."		The Seventies "What's Goin' On." American pop music explodes.		The Seventies "United States vs. Nixon."		The Seventies "The State of the Union is Not Good."		The Seventies	
COM	We're the Millers (2013). Jennifer Aniston, Jason Sudeikis. Misfits pose as family to transport drugs. Occasionally hilarious. (R) (6:30)				We're the Millers (2013). Jennifer Aniston, Jason Sudeikis. Misfits pose as family to transport drugs. Occasionally hilarious. (R)				South Park "Marjorie." (MA)		South Park "Red Man's Greed."	
COOK	Cheap Eats (G)	Cheap Eats (G)	Cheap Eats (G)	Cheap Eats (G)	Good Eats (G)	Good Eats (G)	Good Eats (G)	Good Eats (G)	Good Eats (G)	Good Eats (G)	Cheap Eats (G)	
CSPAN	Public Affairs Events				American Socialism (9:12)				Politics and Public Policy Today (10:12)		Politics-Public	
CSPAN2	Earth in Human Hands (6:30)		Communicators	Talking Back, Talking Black		Norman Podhoretz Discusses Making It (9:45)			Geek Girl Rising (11:15)		After Words	
CUNY	Democracy	Theater Talk (G)	The Open Mind	Digital Age	America-World	Bob Herbert's	Global Ethics	Building NY	ABNY Power Breakfast		Classic Arts	
DIS	K.C. Undercover (Y7)	Bizaardvark (G)	K.C. Undercover (Y7)	K.C. Undercover "Photo Bombed."	Liv and Maddie "Twin-a-Rooney."	Liv and Maddie (G)	Tangled: The Series (Y7)	Tangled: The Series (Y7)	Transylvania	Jessie (G)	Stuck in the Middle (G)	
DIY	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	Pool Kings (G)	
DSC	Street Outlaws New Orleans: Full		Throttle "Episode 10." (N)		Street Outlaws: New Orleans "Thunderstruck." (N) (14)		Vegas Rat Rods "Vintage Speed Racer." (N) (PG)		Street Outlaws: New Orleans "Thunderstruck." (14)		Street Outlaws (14)	
E!	Bring It On (2000). (PG-13) (6)		Bring It On (2000). High school cheerleaders. Bouncy sports comedy.			Bring It On (2000). High school cheerleaders. Bouncy sports comedy.			Bring It On (2000).			
ELREY	Godzilla vs. Space Godzilla (1994). Giant mutant lizard and robot battle mutant dinosaur.				Godzilla vs. Destoroyah (1995). Yoko Ishino, Megumi Odaka.				Godzilla 2000 (2000). (PG)			
ESPN	SportsCenter		M.L.B. Boston Red Sox vs. Texas Rangers.						SportsCenter		SportsCenter	
ESPN2	N.F.L. Live		30 for 30 Ultra-competitive athletes.				SportsCenter		SportsCenter Special		30 for 30	
ESPNCL	College Football (6)		College Football From Oct. 18, 1997.				College Football From Dec. 5, 1992 in Birmingham, Ala.				Hot Dog Eating	

	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00
LOGO	Roseanne "Radio Days." (6:58)	Roseanne "Lovers' Lane." (7:29)	Mama's Family "Birthright." (PG)	Mama's Family (PG) (8:33)	Mama's Family (PG) (9:06)	Mama's Family (PG) (9:39)	Mama's Family (PG) (10:11)	Mama's Family "It Takes Two to Watusi." (PG) (10:44)	Mama's Family (PG) (11:17)	Alice "My Fair Vera." (11:50)	
MLB	M.L.B. Tonight (6)										
MSG	Beginnings	Beginnings	N.B.A. Summer League Basketball Knicks vs. Thunder.				Beginnings	Beginnings	N.B.A. Summer League Basketball		
MSGPL	U.F.C. Classics		Fight Sports: Boxing From April 9, 2011.				U.F.C. Countdown		Drag Racing		
MSNBC	Hardball With Chris Matthews (N)		All In With Chris Hayes (N)		The Rachel Maddow Show (N)		The Last Word		All the President's Men Revisited		
MTV	Mean Girls (5:30)		Teen Mom OG "Truth Be Told." (PG)		Teen Mom OG (N) (Part 1 of 2) (PG)		Teen Mom 2 (N) (PG) (10:01)		Super Sweet Promposal (N) Mean Girls (2004)		
NBCS	American Ninja Warrior (PG)		2017 Tour de France Stage 3. Stage 3. From Verviers to Longwy.						Motorcycle Race		Tour de France
NGeo	The Wild West "True Grit."		The Wild West "Gold Rush."		America's Greatest Animals The search for America's iconic animals.				Wild Hawaii "Secrets Of The Deep."		Wild Mississippi
NICK	The Loud House The Loud House		The Thundermans (G)		Ice Age: Dawn of the Dinosaurs (2009). Voice of Ray Romano. (PG)				Friends (PG) Friends (PG)		Friends (PG)
NICKJR	Dora and Friends: Into the City!		Shimmer and Shine (Y)		Peppa Pig (Y) Peppa Pig (Y)		Paw Patrol (Y) Paw Patrol (Y)		Blaze, Monster Team Umizoomi		Team Umizoomi
NY1	Road to City Hall (N)		New York Tonight		News All Evening		Road to City Hall		News at Eleven Sports on 1 (11:35)		
OVA	★ The Negotiator (1998). Samuel L. Jackson. Framed Chicago police negotiator takes hostages. Brisk thriller. (R) ★ In the Line of Fire (1993). Clint Eastwood, John Malkovich. (R)										
OWN	Dateline on OWN (PG)		Dateline on OWN (PG)		Dateline on OWN "Betrayal." (PG)		Dateline on OWN (PG)		Dateline on OWN (PG)		Dateline, OWN
OXY	Snapped "Janet Harrell." (PG)		Snapped "Mandy Smith." (PG)		It Takes a Killer Snapped "Carma." (PG)		Snapped "Mindy Dodd." (PG)		It Takes a Killer		It Takes a Killer
SCIENCE	Unearthed "Tut's Buried Secrets."		Unearthed (PG)		Unearthed (PG) (9:02)		Unearthed (PG) (10:04)		Unearthed (PG) (11:06)		Unearthed (PG)
SMITH	Combat Trains "Ambulance Trains."		Combat Trains "Nazi Railways." (N)		V2: Nazi Rocket (PG)		World War II Spy School (14)		Combat Trains "Nazi Railways."		V2: Nazi Rocket
SNY	M.L.B. New York Mets vs. Washington Nationals. (6)				Mets Postgame Road to the Hall of Fame		SportsNite		SportsNite		SportsNite
SPIKE	Cops (14)	Cops (14)	Cops "Texas."	Cops "Atlanta."	Cops (PG)	Cops (PG)	Cops (PG)	Cops (14)	Cops (PG)	Cops (14)	Cops (14)
STZENF	★ Sleepless in Seattle (1993). Tom Hanks. (PG) (6:58) ★ This Is My Life (1992). Young single mom's show-biz rise. Witty. (8:45) ★ Hello, Dolly! (1969). Barbra Streisand, Walter Matthau. (G) (10:20)										
SUN	Conan the Barbarian (1982). Arnold Schwarzenegger, James Earl Jones. Long-age warrior versus snake-cult sorcerer. Clanky and gory. (R)						Conan the Destroyer (1984). Arnold Schwarzenegger, Grace Jones. Elaborate grunt-and-gore aerobics. Strictly rhinestone. (PG)				
SYFY	Underworld: Rise of the Lycans (2009). Michael Sheen. (R) (6)		Percy Jackson: Sea of Monsters (2013). Logan Lerman. Percy must find Golden Fleece to save Camp Half-Blood. Sufficiently diverting. (PG)				Percy Jackson: Sea of Monsters (2013). Logan Lerman. Percy must find Golden Fleece to save Camp Half-Blood. Sufficiently diverting. (PG)				The Twilight Zone (PG)
TBS	Family Guy "Road to Vegas."	Family Guy "Finder Keepers."	Family Guy "Vestigial Peter."	Family Guy (14) "Family Guy "A Fistful of Meg."	Family Guy (14)	American Dad "Roger's Baby." (14)	American Dad (14)	Conan Actor Reese Witherspoon. (14)	Seinfeld "The Pony Remark."		
TCM	So This Is Love (1953). Kathlyn Grayson, Mervin Griffin. (5:45)		★ America, America (1963). Stathis Giallelis. Young Greek immigrant's odyssey, from turn-of-century Turkey. Treacherant and incisive, the Kazan way.				I Remember Mama (1948). Irene Dunne. Norwegian immigrant family in San Francisco. Irresistible.				
TLC	90 Day Fiancé: Extended "When the Past Catches Up." (N) (14)				Counting On (N) (PG)		Kate Plus 8 "Sweet 16." (PG)		Counting On (PG)		Kate Plus 8 (PG)
TNT	Tyler Perry's I Can Do Bad All By Myself (2009). Tyler Perry. (PG-13) (6)		Claws "Tirana." Desna is entangled in a scheme. (MA)		Claws "Funerary." Desna and Virginia's cover story. (MA) (9:05)		Claws "Quicksand." Virginia's lies deepen. (MA) (10:05)		Claws "Fallout." Desna becomes desperate. (MA) (11:02)		Law & Order "Release." (14)
TRU	Bizarre Foods With Zimmern		Delicious		Delicious		Bizarre Foods With Zimmern		Bizarre Foods With Zimmern		Bizarre Foods
TRAV	Carbonaro Eff. Carbonaro Eff.		Carbonaro Eff.		Carbonaro Eff.		Imp. Jokers Imp. Jokers		Imp. Jokers Imp. Jokers		Carbonaro Eff.
TVLAND	M*A*S*H (PG)	M*A*S*H (7:36)	M*A*S*H "Rumor at the Top." (8:12)		Love-Raymond Love-Raymond		Love-Raymond Love-Raymond		King of Queens King of Queens		King of Queens
USA	Law & Order: Special Victims Unit "Alien." (14)		W.W.E. Monday Night Raw Braun Strowman and Roman Reigns.								
VH1	Love & Hip Hop: Atlanta (14)		Love & Hip Hop: Atlanta (N) (14)		Love & Hip Hop: Hollywood (N)		Daytime Divas (N) (14)		Love & Hip Hop: Atlanta (14)		Love & Hip Hop
WE	CSI: Miami "Raising Caine." Horatio's ex resurfaces. (14)		CSI: Miami "Miami Confidential." The team uncovers a meth lab. (14)		CSI: Miami "Chain Reaction." The investigation into a model's murder.		CSI: Miami "Permanent Vacation." A family vacation turns deadly. (14)		CSI: Miami "Stand Your Ground." Someone tries to kill Kallagher. (14)		CSI: Miami "CSI: My Nanny." (14)
WGN-A	Wild Wild West (1999). Will Smith, Kevin Kline. (PG-13)				Wild Wild West (1999). Will Smith, Kevin Kline. (PG-13)		New York Yankees Postgame		The Patriot (2000). Mel Gibson, Heath Ledger. (R)		
YES	M.L.B. Toronto Blue Jays vs. New York Yankees.										



Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



A sunny sky in the morning will give way to patchy clouds in the afternoon over the East Coast beaches. The humidity will slowly fall in the afternoon. Highs will mostly be in the 80s, with the upper 70s expected in some spots around Cape Cod and along the beaches of northern Maine.



The Yankees show their faults in a loss to the Astros.

A birdie on the final hole wins the women's P.G.A. title.



Germany's young team beats Chile, 1-0, to win the Confederations Cup.

# SportsMonday

The New York Times

## Against Wimbledon's Hush, Groan of Its Crowd Can Rattle

By SIMON CAMBERS

Tradition is as much a part of the Wimbledon experience as the grass itself, from the predominantly white clothing rule to the strawberries and cream sold around the grounds of the All England Club.

But when Wimbledon begins this week, mixed in with the cheers will be one thing the world's leading tennis players do not appreciate quite so much: the Wimbledon groan.

Urrrr. Low-pitched, almost tailing off at the end, it is a sigh of disappointment, of lost hope. Urrrr. Often after a double fault or a simple mistake, it can affect anyone but seems louder and clearer when a home player misses on an important point.

"I hated that, I really hated that," said Pat Cash, the Australian who won Wimbledon in 1987. "My sports psychologist actually worked with me on that. You make a mistake and everyone went urrrr."

Cash said he wanted to tell the crowd to shut up. "Do you think I meant to serve a double fault?"

Thanks very much for reinforcing that bad feeling," he added.

The groan is not unique to Wimbledon. But it is more obvious there because, in contrast to the United States Open, for example, it is much more common for the crowd to fall into silence before points begin. The grass muffles the sound of the ball bounce, too, so when the urrrr comes, it is inescapable.

"I heard a lot of groans, a lot," said Pam Shriver, the former top-ranked doubles player, who is now an analyst with ESPN. "It can be embarrassing, especially if it's on Centre Court."

Shriver remembered her "biggest groan." It came in 1996 when she was playing Anke Huber in the second round.

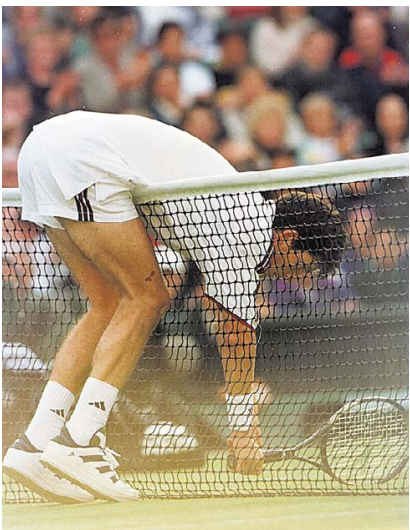
"It was the last time I played after 19 years of playing there, and I hit a double fault on match point," Shriver said. "My second serve, I was serving up the sunny end, it caught the top of my frame and it landed in my service box. On Centre Court,

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DAVE CAULKIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Pam Shriver, left, heard the groan in 1996 when she double faulted on match point against Anke Huber: "Oh, yeah, I heard it big time." The British player Tim Henman, right, was a common victim.



STEVE MITCHELL/EMPICS, VIA GETTY IMAGES



JOE BURBANK/ORLANDO SENTINEL, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dale Earnhardt Jr. during driver introductions at Saturday's Coke Zero 400 at Daytona International Speedway, where he has won 17 career races.

## Downshifting Into Daytona

His wins have waned, but Dale Earnhardt Jr.'s fans fill a treasured track during his final Nascar season.

By PETER KERASOTIS

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla. — Like a plaintive wail, the roar of racecars rumbled in the distance. Instead of driving one of them, speeding around Daytona International Speedway, Dale Earnhardt sat in the passenger seat of a golf cart, signing autographs.

"Whoooo-hoo!" one fan hollered, hopping away as he examined his newly signed hat.

Earnhardt autographed about a half-dozen other items deep inside the speedway's infield before the man behind the wheel of the golf cart slowly leaned on the accelerator.

"Sorry," he said. "Dale's gotta go."

As the cart whirled away, attention shifted back to Saturday night's Coke Zero 400.

Sort of.

At any other race, an early exit from Earnhardt's No. 88 car would not be too big a deal. But when the face of the sport announces that he is making his last go-round — literally and figuratively — as a Nascar driver, the spotlight tends to linger.

Ever since Earnhardt announced he would

retire after this season, Nascar has ensured his spot on center stage. Daytona International Speedway did its part, too, during what may have been Earnhardt's last race at the track.

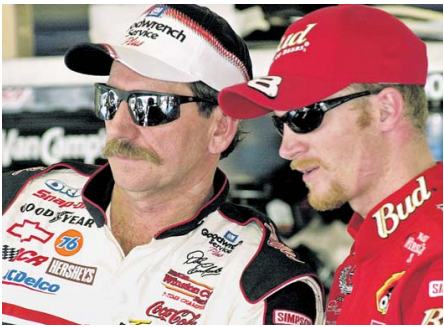
In honor of Earnhardt, who has been voted the fans' favorite driver for 14 consecutive years, a video tribute played before the race. A huge No. 88 had been painted on the infield grass, and fans were prompted to give Earnhardt a standing ovation on Lap 88.

Not that the spectators needed prodding. Many displayed signs that said, "Welcome to Dale-tona" or simply "Dale-tona."

Though Earnhardt was unquestionably the story here, there would be no storybook ending this time. In 2001, he produced a poignant victory in this same race, winning only five months after his father, Dale Earnhardt Sr., died when he crashed into the wall on the final lap of the Daytona 500.

Earnhardt Jr. won 16 other races at Daytona, including the Daytona 500 in 2004 and 2014, and the Coke Zero 400 in 2015. But it was the 2001 victory, he said, that he holds most dear.

"It's not the bigger race. It's not the Daytona



PAUL KIZZLE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Earnhardt, right, and his father, Dale Earnhardt Sr., who died after crashing during the final lap of the Daytona 500 in 2001.

500," he said Friday. "But because of the circumstances, that one is pretty important."

Even though Earnhardt was the pole-sitter for Saturday's race, he could not come through again. Early on, he clipped his car against the wall. On Lap 105, when he was in sixth and surging

Continued on Page D3

## Crossing The Border To Nurture Young Talent

With Academies, Club Tijuana Expands Reach

By VINCENT M. MALLOZZI

CLIFFWOOD, N.J. — On a stormy Saturday, a group of young boys wearing red soccer uniforms and cleats in a dizzying array of colors clip-clopped out of the rain and into an old warehouse, where wealthy residents of this historic community along Raritan Bay once stored their antique cars.

That space is now occupied by an unlikely tenant, and serving a very different clientele. Xolos Academy F.C. New Jersey, a soccer academy affiliated with the Mexican first-division team Club Tijuana, has transformed the warehouse into a synthetic-turf field of dreams, its walls covered with logos and action photos of a favorite son.

They coach soccer here now, but what the academy really offers is opportunity for the sons and daughters of Hispanic immigrants from the area. These are the kind of players who routinely fall through the cracks of American soccer, victims of financial hardships that sometimes prevent their talents from being properly nurtured, and exposed, in the pay-to-play culture that dominates youth soccer in the United States.

"Some of these players have been kept in the shadows simply because they could not afford to play the game they love," said Joe DiMauro, a long-time coach and trainer who runs the warehouse academy. It is the fifth American affiliate of Club Tijuana, and the first in the Northeastern United States.

The academies are part of an effort by Club Tijuana — the Xoloitzcuintles, or more simply the Xolos — to appeal to fans on both sides of the United States-Mexico border. Xolos was the first team in Mexico's top division, Liga MX, to go bilingual in its public relations, and it has courted an American audience and American players since the team's inception in 2007.

"Each of our U.S. academies has the right coaching staff in place, which will help elevate our players' games," said Roberto Cornejo, the deputy general manager of Club Tijuana, which has four Americans on its 22-man, first-team roster. "We believe in our youth system very much, and we are going to keep on developing these kids and giving them a chance to play at the highest level."

Tab Ramos, a former United States national team star who grew up in New Jersey and now coaches the United States under-20 national team, knows the area, as well as the struggles of young Hispanic players looking to get noticed. He also knows that

Continued on Page D6



BASEBALL

# Yankees Continue Their Slide With a New Way to Lose: Quietly

By **BILLY WITZ**

HOUSTON — If the Yankees have endured excruciating defeats during their three-week skid, an 8-1 loss to the Houston Astros on Sunday was not one of them.

ASTROS	8
YANKEES	1

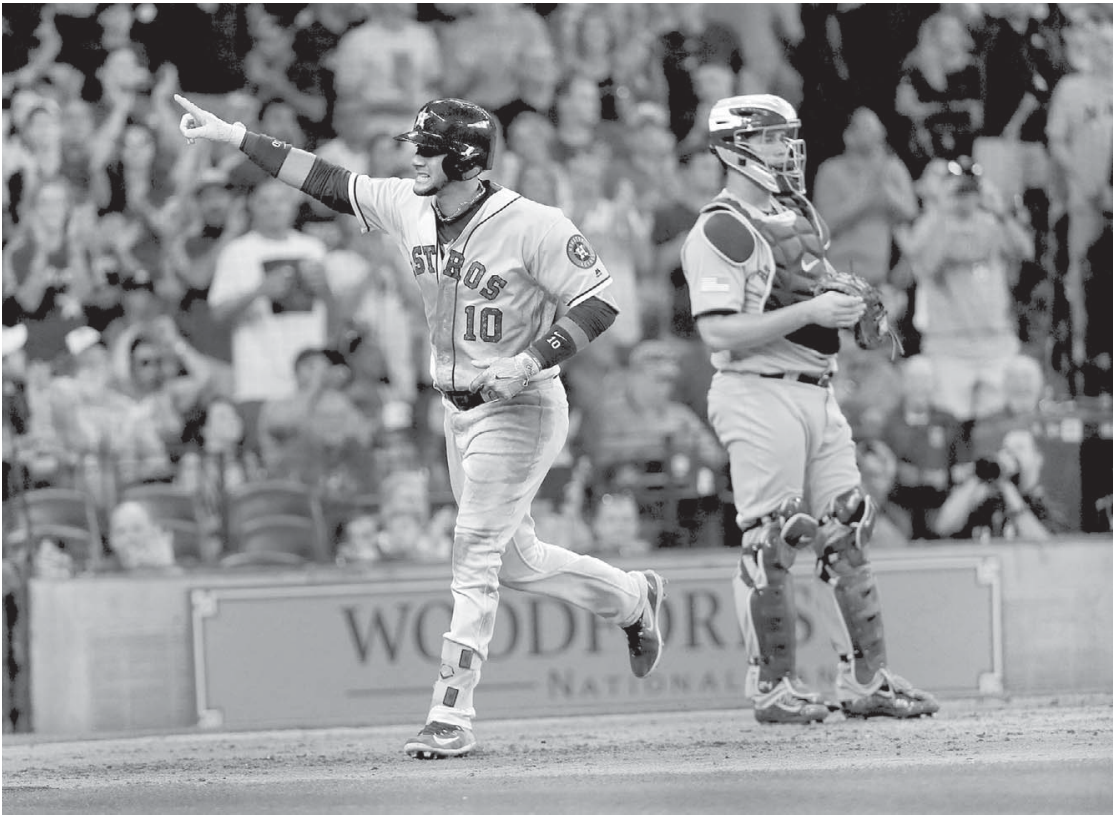
This was a laborious afternoon in which the Yankees were handed their medicine. Their usual feistiness abandoned them just as their early-season form already had. The Yankees managed only two hits through seven innings — at one point four Astros pitchers retired 15 consecutive hitters — and their only consolation was in avoiding their first shutout.

The Yankees have now lost 14 of their last 19 games, drifting to three games behind the Boston Red Sox in the American League East. This is the furthest the Yankees have been from first place since they lost four of their first five games of the season.

When the Yankees open a homestand Monday against the Toronto Blue Jays, trying not to fall further back before the All-Star break, they will at least have reinforcements. C. C. Sabathia, who has missed three weeks with a hamstring injury, is expected to get the start on Tuesday, the day that reliever Adam Warren, who has been out with a sore shoulder, is expected to be activated.

“We’re in a frustrating part of our year,” Manager Joe Girardi said. “I think this week is really important at home for us to go and get things turned around and win games that we’re supposed to.”

The Yankees’ recent struggles have been across the board. There have been bullpen meltdowns, iffy starting pitching, offensive lulls, shaky defense — and then Brett



DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Yuli Gurriel hit a two-run homer as the Astros built an eight-run lead on Sunday. The Yankees have lost 14 of their last 19 games.

Gardner was thrown out after rounding first for the final out on Saturday night.

If there was a play on Sunday that epitomized the Yankees of late, it came in the seventh inning,

when reliever Domingo German uncorked a wild pitch. The ball ricocheted back to catcher Gary Sanchez, but his eager throw to second base sailed into center field, allowing the 40-year-old

Carlos Beltran to amble to third. By then, though, the game had long been decided.

Yankees starter Luis Severino had departed with a lead in his past three games only to have the

bullpen turn them into losses. He could make no such complaint this time. The Astros, who lead the majors in slugging percentage, tagged Severino for six doubles and a two-run homer by Marwin

# Momentum Deserts Mets Amid Wave Of Misplays

By **WALLACE MATTHEWS**

There were more than 30,000 people at Citi Field on a gorgeous summer Sunday, and in the second inning of a game between the Mets and the Philadelphia Phillies, it seemed that only one person had no idea where the baseball was.

PHILLIES	7
METS	1

That was the Mets’ catcher, Rene Rivera, and he was the one who most needed to know.

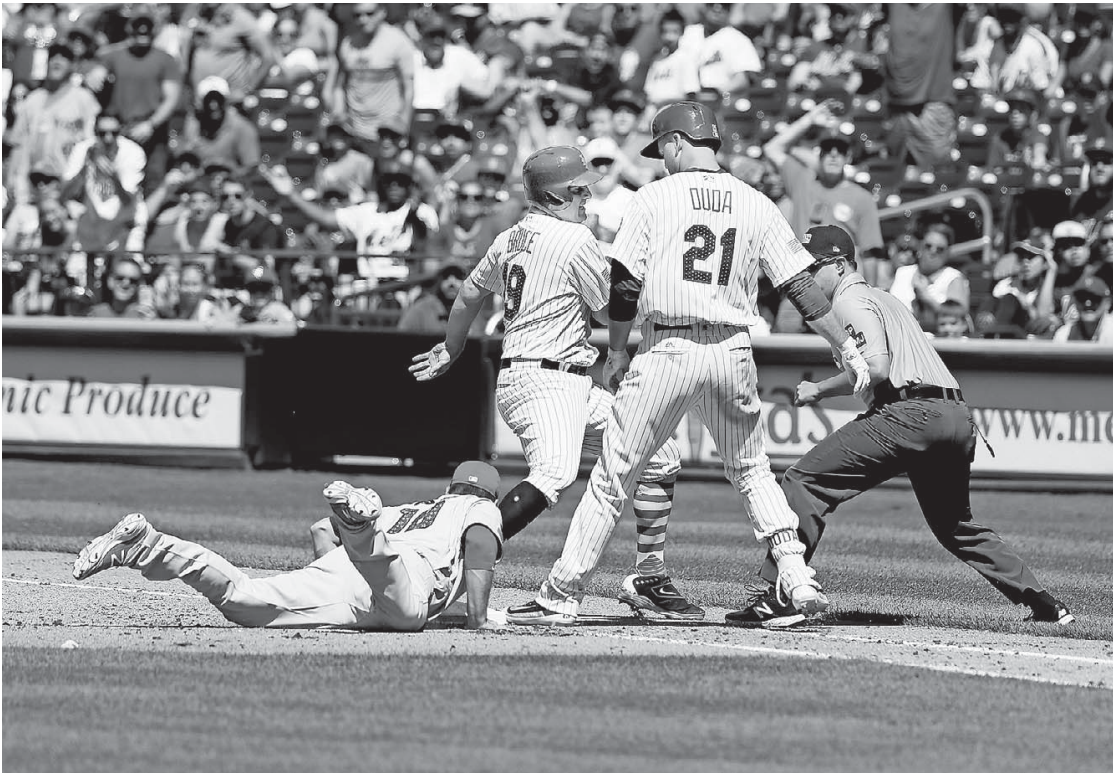
A slider from Mets starter Rafael Montero had scooted under Rivera’s glove and caromed off the leg of the home-plate umpire, Ramon De Jesus, and as Rivera searched frantically for the ball, Phillies catcher Andrew Knapp raced home from second base with the Phillies’ fourth run.

That was not even the most bizarre play of the game, which came in the bottom of the seventh when Phillies center fielder Aaron Altherr allowed a fly by Lucas Duda to pop out of his glove and over his shoulder.

But Altherr turned quickly and caught the ball before it hit the ground and fired to first, doubling off Jay Bruce, who had broken for second thinking the ball had dropped.

Neither play was the sole reason the Mets lost to the Phillies, 7-1, but both plays certainly were indicative of the kind of day the Mets had in a game they needed to win.

The Mets are now five games under .500 and nine games behind the first-place Washington Nationals in the National League



AL BELLO/GETTY IMAGES

Aaron Altherr, top right, lost track of Lucas Duda’s fly ball but recovered in time for Tommy Joseph, above, to double off Jay Bruce.

East. They open a three-game series against the Nationals in Washington on Monday.

“We got our work cut out for us, but there’s no reason we can’t be optimistic,” Manager Terry Collins said. “If we can put together a second half like some of these teams did in the first half, we’ll be fine. If not, it’s going to be tough to catch back up.”

The loss, in their 81st game of the season, stalled whatever momentum the Mets had built after winning seven of their previous eight games. And their poor first

half has left them very little room for error: They will need to play .600 baseball over the next 81 games to match last season’s 87 wins, which slid them into the second N.L. wild-card spot.

Rivera said that the team was not disappointed by the loss and had been playing good baseball.

“There’s not a team that I can recall in the history of baseball that won 162 games,” he said.

On Sunday, many of the Mets’ weaknesses were on full display. The day started with another injury. Curtis Granderson, who batted

.316 and hit eight homers in June, sat the game out with hip tightness. It is unclear when he will return.

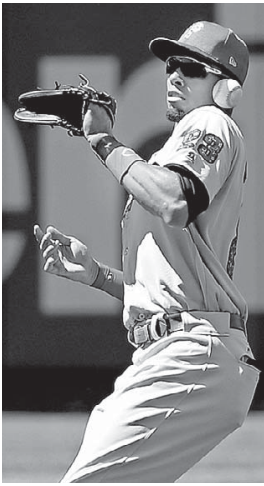
And for the fourth time this season, the Mets needed to start Montero because of the injuries to the pitching staff. Montero had a strong first inning, but he looked as if he were a different pitcher in the second, allowing hard singles by the first two hitters before Maikel Franco drove a two-run double off the base of the left-center-field wall.

Knapp singled in a third run,

and then came that pitch that disappeared on Rivera.

“I called for a changeup, and he threw a curveball,” Rivera said. “It hit me, it hit the umpire and the ball kicked the other way. I was trying to get some help. Montero pointed toward third base, and that’s where I found it.”

After that, Montero settled down to last six and a third innings, allowing eight hits, striking out six and walking two. The Phillies, who have the worst record in the majors, added three runs in the eighth off reliever



KATHY WILLENS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Chase Bradford.

“He kept us right there,” Collins said of Montero. “He had one bad inning, but if we get a couple of runs, we’re right back in the game.”

But the Mets were held hitless by the Phillies’ rookie starter, Nick Pivetta, until T. J. Rivera lined a solo home run with one out in the fifth.

“His fastball is a little sneaky,” Rivera said of Pivetta. “It plays a little quicker than the radar gun says. At times we weren’t catching up to it.”

That was the only hit Pivetta, who is 2-4 with a 4.85 E.R.A., allowed in seven innings, by far the best performance of his 10-start major league career. The only other Mets hit was a bloop single by Matt Reynolds in the eighth inning. The Mets did have two base runners in the ninth, thanks to two infield errors.

“It’s frustrating, but we got to keep moving because we got a big series coming up,” T. J. Rivera said. “We know the situation we’re in. We know it’s going to be tough, but we’re trying to stay positive.”

# Judge Leads Yankees Youngsters to the All-Star Game

By **SETH BERKMAN**

The Yankees, who lead the American League wild-card race, had three homegrown prospects named to the All-Star Game for the first time on Sunday, and their five total selections tied for most in the majors.

As the Yankees have sprinted into contention during the first half of the season, Aaron Judge, Gary Sanchez and Luis Severino have performed like franchise cornerstones, the kind of players that are expected to be in the Bronx for many years to come. But next week, they will temporarily trade in their pinstripes for fluorescent South-Beach-inspired uniforms at Marlins Park in Miami on July 11.

Judge, the Yankees’ 6-foot-7, 282-pound slugger, who leads the major leagues with 27 homers, could leave a lasting impression, particularly if he participates in the Home Run Derby the day before the game.

In his first full season in the ma-

jors, Judge, 25, also leads the American League with 62 R.B.I. and has the A.L.’s second-best batting average at .327. He is one of six starters on the American League squad who are first-time All-Stars.

Sanchez, who ended last season with 20 home runs in August and September, has continued to emerge as one of the A.L.’s top catchers. Sanchez, 24, has 13 home runs and 40 R.B.I. in 51 games.

Severino had a disappointing showing in 2016, when he went 0-8 as a starter and was demoted to the minors. But this season he has shown marked improvement, going 5-4 with a 3.52 E.R.A. and 114 strikeouts.

Second baseman Starlin Castro earned a spot in the All-Star game for the fourth time and his first with the Yankees, and reliever Dellin Betances was picked for a fourth straight season. Shortstop Didi Gregorius is a candidate for a final roster spot picked through online voting at MLB.com, which ends on Thursday.

The Mets had only one player named to the National League All-Star team on Sunday — Michael Conforto, who was selected for the first time.

But whether Conforto will be able to take the field in Miami is another matter. He is on the 10-day disabled list with a bruised left hand and is eligible to return Saturday, three days before the game.

After Sunday’s game against the Philadelphia Phillies at Citi Field, Conforto said he had been eating breakfast when Manager Terry Collins pulled him aside with the news.

“I figured it was something about my rehab or whatever,” Conforto said. “I was like, ‘O.K.’ and he was like, ‘You made the All-Star team, by the way.’ He congratulated me and said I earned it.”

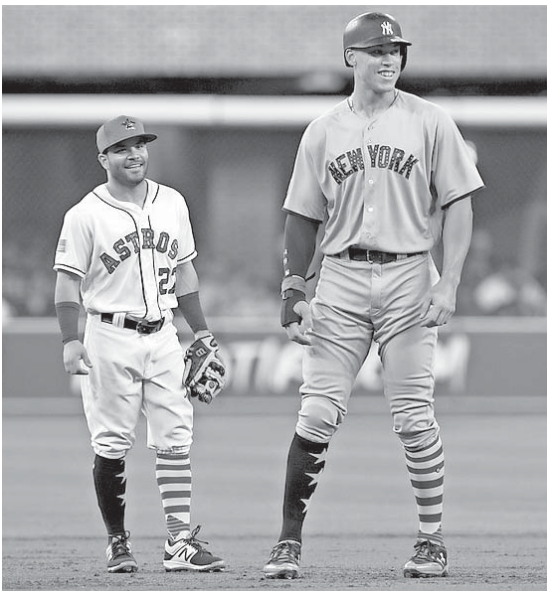
Also voted in for the first time in the American League along with Judge were outfielder George Springer and shortstop Carlos Correa of the Houston Astros; first baseman Justin Smoak of the

Toronto Blue Jays; third baseman Jose Ramirez of the Cleveland Indians; and designated hitter Corey Dickerson of the Tampa Bay Rays.

Outfielder Mike Trout of the Los Angeles Angels, catcher Salvador Perez of the Kansas City Royals and Astros second baseman Jose Altuve are the other A.L. starters.

In the National League, Zack Cozart of the Cincinnati Reds will make his debut starting at shortstop. Also starting for the N.L. in the infield are third baseman Nolan Arenado of the Colorado Rockies, and two Washington Nationals: first baseman Ryan Zimmerman and second baseman Daniel Murphy. Their Washington teammate Bryce Harper led all players in votes. Harper will be joined in the outfield by Colorado’s Charlie Blackmon and Marcell Ozuna of the Miami Marlins. Buster Posey of the San Francisco Giants is the starting catcher.

The Astros, the Indians and the Nationals tied the Yankees with five selections.



YI-CHIN LEE/HOUSTON CHRONICLE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Aaron Judge will join four other Yankees in the All-Star Game. Houston second baseman Jose Altuve, left, will be there, too.



BASEBALL

# Social Media Presents a New Challenge in Curbing Domestic Violence

By BILLY WITZ

When Major League Baseball began two domestic-violence investigations last month, allegations against Chicago Cubs shortstop Addison Russell and Tampa Bay Rays catcher Derek Norris did not come from the usual source — a police report, or video, or court testimony.

Instead, they came from social media. Kristen Eck, Norris's former fiancée, wrote on Instagram that she had been physically and verbally abused by Norris in 2015. And after Russell's wife, Melisa, wrote on Instagram that Russell had cheated on her, a friend of Melisa Russell's posted that Addison Russell had hit his wife in front of his two young children.

Norris, who has since been waived by the Rays, and Russell have denied accusations of abuse. Pat Courtney, an M.L.B. spokesman, confirmed that the league was investigating both cases but declined to say more.

Though the two cases are in their early stages, they highlight a new challenge that baseball faces in addressing domestic violence.

When Major League Baseball and the players' union jointly developed a policy on the issue nearly two years ago, it was intended to avoid missteps that had plagued other sports, particularly the N.F.L., when it came to investigating instances of domestic violence and meting out punishment.

But little consideration was given to the role that social media — rather than law enforcement — might play in bringing potential domestic violence cases to light, according to a person in baseball familiar with the drafting of the agreement who was not authorized to speak publicly about it.

The first five cases Major League Baseball investigated under its new policy had evidence that had already been generated by law enforcement or video. In the cases of Norris and Russell, there was none.

This means baseball's investigators must discern whether the allegations on social media are credible. And though players, under the terms of the new policy, are required to cooperate with those investigators, they may be wary of saying anything that could prompt an investigation by the police.

"Individual players should be cautious," said Sharlene Boltz, a professor at

**M.L.B. investigators are left to determine the credibility of posts.**

the Chase College of Law at the Northern Kentucky University. Though the players may have an interest in cooperating, their personal counsel or a union representative "has to be thinking, 'Will this be used against me? Is it discoverable?'"

Norris told The Tampa Bay Times that he planned to "go above and beyond to assist M.L.B. with their investigation."

Eck, who did not respond to an email request for an interview, has been cooperating with baseball investigators, but the women involved in Russell's case have not, according to a person familiar with the case who was not authorized to speak publicly about it. Thomas Field, an attorney for Melisa Russell, who has subsequently filed for divorce, said she would not meet with baseball investigators "at this time."

He added that "the reason for not now is she doesn't believe it's in the best interest of her son and her family."

M.L.B. investigators have also asked to meet with Melisa Russell's friend, who



BRIAN BLANCO/GETTY IMAGES

made the accusation that Addison Russell had hit his wife, but she has not responded to emails or phone calls.

The cases involving Russell and Norris somewhat mirror those involving the N.F.L. players Ezekiel Elliott of the Dallas Cowboys and Jamison Crowder of the Washington Redskins, in which women posted photos on social media showing injuries they said were caused by the players.

In Elliott's case, it led to the disclosure of a previous police report. But neither player was disciplined by the N.F.L.

That women have turned to social media to make these statements is a sign that younger people view the medium as a community, and it also underscores the primary objective of abuse victims, according to those who have studied domestic violence.

"They're not looking for revenge, they're looking for an end to the abuse," said Kim Gandy, the chief executive of the National Network to End Domestic Violence. "There's a lot of conversations about what are the alternatives for victims who are not looking to have their husband or boyfriend go to jail for five years."

By turning to social media, she added, victims may also be hoping that pressure from peers, or even employers, will stop the abuse.

"You take your chances that if you have a few hundred friends on social media, that at least some of them will pipe up," Gandy said.

But the world of sports is vastly larger. Sharing on social media not only makes a case very public, but it also enables fans who adore their athletic idols to harass those making the accusations, said Margaret Duval, the executive director of the Domestic Violence Legal Clinic.



ELSA/GETTY IMAGES

The former Rays catcher Derek Norris, above, and Cubs shortstop Addison Russell, left. Both men have been called out on social media by women accusing them of abuse, and both have denied the allegations. Each case is under review by Major League Baseball.

Still, Duval said, "the good side of the double-edged sword is there are people who reach out in support, resources can be offered, and there can be a sense of liberation in not holding on to a secret."

In her post on Instagram, Russell wrote: "Being able to make your own choices for your own happiness beats being cheated on, lied to, & disrespected any day. #herestonewbeginnings #onlygetsbetterfromhere"

In a lengthy post on her blog, which detailed the episode of which she had accused Norris of abuse, Eck wrote, "I hope multiple women can read this and get out of controlling situations, abusive situations and mentally and physically draining situations."

Boltz, the law professor, said public expressions like these on a subject that can be personal and stigmatizing are rare among older people.

"For my parent's generation, or even my generation, there's hesitancy in what we let out," she said. "For myself, as a professor of millennials, they're a little more relaxed in what they let out. That's a generational thing: How this present social media plays into decision making, how do I express myself, how do I solve my problems?"

For Major League Baseball, it is no different, making a sometimes complicated and delicate issue even more so.

AUTO RACING

# Fans Fill a Treasured Track In Earnhardt's Final Season

From First Sports Page

ing, a blown tire caused Kevin Harvick to spin out in front of him. The ensuing wreck was minor, but it ended his night.

Earnhardt finished 32nd in the 40-car race, which was won by Ricky Stenhouse Jr. It was a typical result for the year Earnhardt has had. He is 22nd in the standings, well out of contention for a championship.

He has not won a race in two years, but his merchandise still outsells that of the other Nascar drivers, and his Twitter ac-

**A driver has not won a race in two years, but he remains a fan favorite.**

count has 2.18 million followers.

For many fans, Earnhardt is a powerful link to the past. His grandfather Ralph Earnhardt raced in the 1950s and '60s. His father — the man he still refers to as Daddy — was a seven-time Winston Cup champion and was Nascar's most popular driver when he was killed.

But it is not just the Earnhardt name that appeals to the sport's followers. It is that the driver they call Junior never came across as pretentious at a time when other drivers started seeing them-

selves as a brand to be marketed. For sure, the Earnhardt name is a brand, and a powerful one, but it never felt that way with Junior.

Instead, he came across as a neighborhood mechanic. In fact, early in his adult life, he lived in a double-wide trailer and worked on cars at his father's Chevrolet dealership in North Carolina, mostly doing oil changes and brake jobs.

Even now, Earnhardt describes himself on his Twitter account as a "Retired automotive service mechanic. Former backup fullback for Mooresville Blue Devils varsity soccer. Aspiring BBQ Pitmaster. Friends, Music, Beer!"

Some might wonder why, at 42, he is retiring. The answer, perhaps, is that 42 is old in Earnhardt years. His grandfather died of a heart attack at 45, 13 months before he was born. His father died at 49. For racecar drivers, there are no guaranteed tomorrows.

There have also been health issues. He has sustained two concussions in the past four years, the second one sidelining him for about half of last season.

At the same time, Earnhardt has not entirely shut his car door. He left it slightly open to the possibility of racing in select events in the Monster Energy Cup Series, Nascar's top circuit. More likely, though, he said, he will dabble in the second-tier Xfinity Series with the team he owns, JR Motorsports.

It will not be the same. Without him as a constant presence, not about Nascar will be.



KARL RONSTROM/REUTERS

Dale Earnhardt Jr. won the Pepsi 400 at Daytona International Speedway in 2001, five months after his father's death.



## SCOREBOARD

## Major Is Winner's First Victory on the Tour

OLYMPIA FIELDS, Ill. (AP) — Danielle Kang birdied the final hole to win the Women's P.G.A. Championship on Sunday for her first L.P.G.A. Tour title, edging the 19-year-old defending champion, Brooke Henderson of Canada.

Kang bogeyed the tricky par-3 17th, and Henderson closed with two birdies to move into a tie for the lead, coming up just short on a 30-foot eagle putt on the par-5 18th. But Kang responded with two solid shots to get to the green in two, then two-putted for the victory. “I just told myself it was my week; it was my day,” Kang said.

It was a second consecutive thrilling finish in this tournament, the second L.P.G.A. major of the season. Henderson beat Lydia Ko in a playoff last year at Sahalee in Washington State.

Kang, 24, trailed Henderson and Chella Choi by one after she bogeyed the par-4 10th at Olympia Fields. But Kang moved in front with four straight birdies on the 11th through 14th holes, getting hot with her putter at the right time.

Kang also made a clutch 21-foot par putt at 16 on her way to a 3-under 68 and the winner's check, \$525,000. Henderson closed with a 66 to finish a stroke back, and Choi, who was tied with Kang for the lead coming into the day, was third at 10 under after a 71.

Kang's previous best finish in a major was a tie for 14th in the 2012 United States Women's Open.

Henderson made a strong bid for a second straight title in the event, jumping up the leaderboard with three birdies on her first seven holes. But she had nine straight pars in the middle of the round.

“I kind of had a mix of really good putts that had a chance to go in,” Henderson said, “and some that maybe I would have liked to give a better opportunity for.”

Mi Hyang Lee (67), Amy Yang (68) and Sei Young Kim (68) tied for fourth at nine under, and Lexi Thompson (69) and Inbee Park (68) were another two strokes back.

Kang said some sage advice from her brother, Alex, had set the tone for her breakout performance.



CHARLES REX ARBOGAST/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Danielle Kang after making a birdie on the final hole to win the Women's P.G.A. Championship on Sunday at Olympia Fields in Illinois.

Feeling overwhelmed after her last practice round on the tree-lined Olympia Fields course near Chicago, Kang called her brother for help with a game plan. Alex Kang, who plays on the Web.com Tour, told her to “just blast it down.”

“Alex is the one that I called to map out the golf course,” Kang said. “He’s one of the people that I lean on for everything.”

Guided by that simple strategy, Kang posted four rounds in the 60s. Kang, a two-time United States Women's Amateur champion, had just five bogeys, all in the final two rounds.

Thompson looked ready to make a

charge, beginning with three birdies and no bogeys on her front nine, but she sputtered down the stretch.

Thompson contended for the first major title of the year, but was penalized for a rule violation and lost to So Yeon Ryu in a playoff in the ANA Inspiration. The top-ranked Ryu shot a 72 in the final round at Olympia Fields and tied for 14th.

“The back nine, I think I honestly got really tired,” Thompson said. “I don’t really know what hit me. Over all, the whole week, I played very well. Just missed a few putts that I needed to make, and kind of my wedges let me down a little bit.”

## GOLF

## First Hole of Playoff Decides Maryland Event

Kyle Stanley got up and down for par from just over the 18th green on Sunday to win the Quicken Loans National, a PGA Tour event, on the first hole of a playoff with Charles Howell III in Potomac, Md.

On a chaotic final day that included a five-minute delay for a storm, Stanley and Howell finished at seven-under-par 273 after matching final-round four-under 66s. Howell had a 21-foot putt to win on the final hole of regulation that rolled over the left edge of the cup.

In the playoff, both missed the fairway and the green. Howell's chip came up short, and he missed an 11-foot par putt. Stanley chipped to five feet and pumped his fist as the putt dropped.

**PERRY PREVAILS AT U.S. SENIOR OPEN** Kenny Perry claimed his second United States Senior Open, pulling away from Kirk Triplett in Peabody, Mass., to finish at 16 under and win by two strokes. Perry, 56, closed with a two-under 68 for a record overall score of 264.

**ENGLISHMAN WINS FRENCH OPEN** Tommy Fleetwood of England carded a five-under 66 to win the French Open, a European Tour event, defeating the American Peter Uihlein by one stroke in Guyancourt. Fleetwood had five birdies and no bogeys to finish at 12 under, while Uihlein just missed forcing a playoff after making a late charge. Uihlein, the overnight co-leader, shot a three-under 68.

## PRO BASKETBALL

## Millsap Said to Be Headed to Denver

The four-time All-Star forward Paul Millsap agreed to a three-year, \$90 million contract with the Denver Nuggets, according to multiple news media reports.

Millsap, 32, spent the last four seasons with the Atlanta Hawks. He averaged a career-high 18.1 points, with 7.7 rebounds and 3.1 assists last season.

**LOWRY STAYS WITH RAPTORS** Point guard Kyle Lowry announced on The Players' Tribune website that he will resign with Toronto.

Multiple news media reports said the deal was worth \$100 million over three years. Lowry, a three-time All-Star, averaged 22.4 points and 7.0 assists last season for the Raptors, who also agreed to retain forward Serge Ibaka for three years and \$65 million.

**GIBSON BOUND FOR MINNESOTA** Forward Taj Gibson will re-unite with Coach Tom Thibodeau after agreeing to a two-year, \$28 million deal to join the Timberwolves, multiple news media outlets reported. Gibson has spent the bulk of his career with the Chicago Bulls, including five seasons under Thibodeau. The Bulls traded him to the Oklahoma City Thunder late last season.

**NENE AND ROCKETS AGREE** Houston agreed to terms with the center-forward Nene on a three-year deal worth \$11 million, according to multiple news media outlets. The deal came a day after an initial agreement fell apart because it violated rules of the collective bargaining agreement.

**KORVER STAYING PUT** According to multiple news media outlets, the Cleveland Cavaliers agreed to terms with the 3-point shooter Kyle Korver on a three-year, \$22 million contract. Korver led the league in 3-point percentage (45) and averaged 10.8 points in 35 games for the Cavs after a mid-season trade from the Atlanta Hawks.

**LIBERTY LOSE TO ATLANTA** Brittney Sykes had a career-high 19 points and 9 rebounds, Layshia Clarendon added 15 points and 9 assists, and the host Atlanta Dream beat the Liberty, 81-72. Tina Charles scored 21 points to lead the Liberty, which has lost four of five.

## HOCKEY

## Canadiens Extend Price's Contract

Montreal signed goaltender Carey Price to an eight-year, \$84 million extension through the 2025-26 season.

Re-signing Price was a top priority for the Canadiens. In 2014-15, he won the Hart Trophy as the most valuable player and the Vezina Trophy as the top goaltender after he

All news by The Associated Press unless noted.

## BASEBALL

## A.L. STANDINGS

East	W	L	Pct	GB
Boston	47	35	.573	—
Yankees	43	37	.538	3
Tampa Bay	43	41	.512	5
Baltimore	40	41	.494	6½
Toronto	37	44	.457	9½

Central	W	L	Pct	GB
Cleveland	44	37	.543	—
Kansas City	41	40	.506	3
Minnesota	41	40	.506	3
Chicago	36	45	.444	8
Detroit	36	45	.444	8

West	W	L	Pct	GB
Houston	56	27	.675	—
Los Angeles	43	43	.500	14½
Seattle	41	42	.494	15
Texas	40	42	.488	15½
Oakland	35	47	.427	20½

SUNDAY	Purse: \$3.5 million	Yardage: 6,588; Par: 71 (36-35)
Houston 8, Yankees 1		
Boston 15, Toronto 1		
Baltimore 7, Tampa Bay 1		
Cleveland 11, Detroit 8		
Kansas City 6, Minnesota 2		
Chicago White Sox 6, Texas 5		
Seattle 5, L.A. Angels 3		
Atlanta 4, Oakland 3, 12 innings		

MONDAY	Purse: \$3.5 million	Yardage: 6,588; Par: 71 (36-35)
Toronto (Stroman 8-4) at Yankees (Tanaka 6-7), 7:05		
Baltimore (Miley 3-6) at Milwaukee (Espino 0-0), 2:10		
Boston (Porcello 4-10) at Texas (Perez 4-6), 8:05		
L.A. Angels (Meyer 3-4) at Minnesota (Meljia 3-3), 8:10		
Chicago White Sox (Rodon 0-1) at Oakland (Cotton 5-7), 9:05		
Kansas City (Kennedy 2-6) at Seattle (Moore 1-0), 10:10		

N.L. STANDINGS	W	L	Pct	GB
Washington	48	34	.585	—
Atlanta	40	41	.494	7½
Mets	38	43	.469	9½
Miami	36	44	.450	11
Philadelphia	27	53	.338	20

Central	W	L	Pct	GB
Milwaukee	44	40	.524	—
Chicago	41	41	.500	2
St. Louis	39	42	.481	3½
Pittsburgh	37	45	.451	6
Cincinnati	35	46	.432	7½

West	W	L	Pct	GB
Los Angeles	55	29	.655	—
Arizona	52	31	.627	2½
Colorado	48	36	.571	7
San Diego	34	48	.415	20
San Francisco	33	51	.393	22

West	W	L	Pct	GB
Los Angeles	55	29	.655	—
Arizona	52	31	.627	2½
Colorado	48	36	.571	7
San Diego	34	48	.415	20
San Francisco	33	51	.393	22
<b>SUNDAY</b>				

PHILLIES 7, METS 1	Philadelphia ab r h bi bb so avg.	Nava if 5 0 3 2 0 0 180	Galvis ss 5 0 1 0 0 0 2 250	Altherr cf 5 0 1 0 0 0 2 277	Joseph 1b 5 1 2 0 0 0 2 252	Williams rf 2 0 1 0 0 0 1 364	Franco 3b 3 2 1 2 1 2 1 217	Kelly 2b 2 0 0 0 0 1 0 200	Krapp c 4 2 2 1 0 0 0 264	Pivetta p 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 118	Stassi ph 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 186	Benoit p 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Neri p 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Totals 37 7 12 6 0 0	New York ab r h bi bb so avg.	Nimmo cf 4 0 0 0 0 1 1 250	Cabrera 2b 4 0 0 0 0 1 1 263	Cespedes lf 3 0 0 0 1 1 1 281	Brady 1b 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 261	Duda 1b 3 0 0 0 1 0 0 253	Rivera 3b 3 1 1 1 0 0 0 283	Ramirez p 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 000	Felix ph 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 118	Reyes ss 3 0 0 0 0 0 0 204	Rivera c 2 0 0 0 0 1 1 256	Montero p 2 0 0 0 0 1 0 000	Bradford p 4 0 0 0 0 1 0 327	Reynolds 3b 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 212	Totals 29 1 2 1 4 6	Philadelphia 040 000 030-7 12 2	New York 000 001 000-1 2 0	E—Galvis (6), Neri (1). LOB—Philadelphia 7, New York 5. 2B—Franco (14). HR—Rivera (4), off Pivetta. RBIs—Nava 2 (14), Franco 2 (40), Knapp (11), Stassi (7), Rivera (19). S—Kelly, Pivetta. DP—Bryant 2, New York 1.	Philadelphia ip h r erb bb np era	PivettaW2-4 7 1 1 1 4 96 4.85	Benoit 1 1 0 0 0 1 13 3.94	Neri 1 0 0 0 1 19 3.31	New York ip h r erb bb np era	Montero-1.5 6½ 4 3 4 2 6 104 5.63	Bradford 1½ 4 3 3 0 1 24 8.10	Bryant 1½ 0 0 0 0 3 18 7.00	T—253. A—30,343 (41,922).
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MONDAY	Mets (Matz 2-1) at Washington (Strasburg 9-2), 6:05	Baltimore (Miley 3-6) at Milwaukee (Espino 0-0), 2:10	Pittsburgh (Nova 8-5) at Philadelphia (Nola 5-5), 7:05	Miami (Locke 0-4) at St. Louis (Wainwright 8-5), 7:15	Cincinnati (Castillo 0-0) at Colorado (Hoffman 4-1), 8:10	Phillies 7, Mets 1	Philadelphia ab r h bi bb so avg.	Nava if 5 0 3 2 0 0 180	Galvis ss 5 0 1 0 0 0 2 250	Altherr cf 5 0 1 0 0 0 2 277	Joseph 1b 5 1 2 0 0 0 2 252	Williams rf 2 0 1 0 0 0 1 364	Franco 3b 3 2 1 2 1 2 1 217	Kelly 2b 2 0 0 0 0 1 0 200	Krapp c 4 2 2 1 0 0 0 264	Pivetta p 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 118	Stassi ph 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 186	Benoit p 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Neri p 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Totals 37 7 12 6 0 0	New York ab r h bi bb so avg.	Nimmo cf 4 0 0 0 0 1 1 250	Cabrera 2b 4 0 0 0 0 1 1 263	Cespedes lf 3 0 0 0 1 1 1 281	Brady 1b 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 261	Duda 1b 3 0 0 0 1 0 0 253	Rivera 3b 3 1 1 1 0 0 0 283	Ramirez p 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 000	Felix ph 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 118	Reyes ss 3 0 0 0 0 0 0 204	Rivera c 2 0 0 0 0 1 1 256	Montero p 2 0 0 0 0 1 0 000	Bradford p 4 0 0 0 0 1 0 327	Reynolds 3b 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 212	Totals 29 1 2 1 4 6	Philadelphia 040 000 030-7 12 2	New York 000 001 000-1 2 0	E—Galvis (6), Neri (1). LOB—Philadelphia 7, New York 5. 2B—Franco (14). HR—Rivera (4), off Pivetta. RBIs—Nava 2 (14), Franco 2 (40), Knapp (11), Stassi (7), Rivera (19). S—Kelly, Pivetta. DP—Bryant 2, New York 1.	Philadelphia ip h r erb bb np era	PivettaW2-4 7 1 1 1 4 96 4.85	Benoit 1 1 0 0 0 1 13 3.94	Neri 1 0 0 0 1 19 3.31	New York ip h r erb bb np era	Montero-1.5 6½ 4 3 4 2 6 104 5.63	Bradford 1½ 4 3 3 0 1 24 8.10	Bryant 1½ 0 0 0 0 3 18 7.00	T—253. A—30,343 (41,922).
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TENNIS

# Wimbledon Can Rattle With Groan Of Its Crowd

From First Sports Page

the last point of my Wimbledon singles career. Oh, yeah, I heard it big time.”

For British players, the groan is an occupational hazard. In the 1990s, a Tim Henman match would not be complete without a few *urrrrs*. Henman, who reached a career-high ranking of No. 4 and made it to four Wimbledon semifinals, was a common victim, the groans coming with double faults, forehands into the net or whenever he let go a ball that landed in.

Miles Maclagan, a former coach of Andy Murray, the current world No. 1, said Wimbledon could be a “lonely place if you get too many of the groans.”

“I think even within the groan there can be different attitudes or vibes to it,” he added. “In the past with Tim, unfortunately, it was sort of like, ‘Oh, here we go again.’ I think that attitude changed with Andy, and people expect to see him win now.”

Shriver said she did not consider the groan to be that negative.

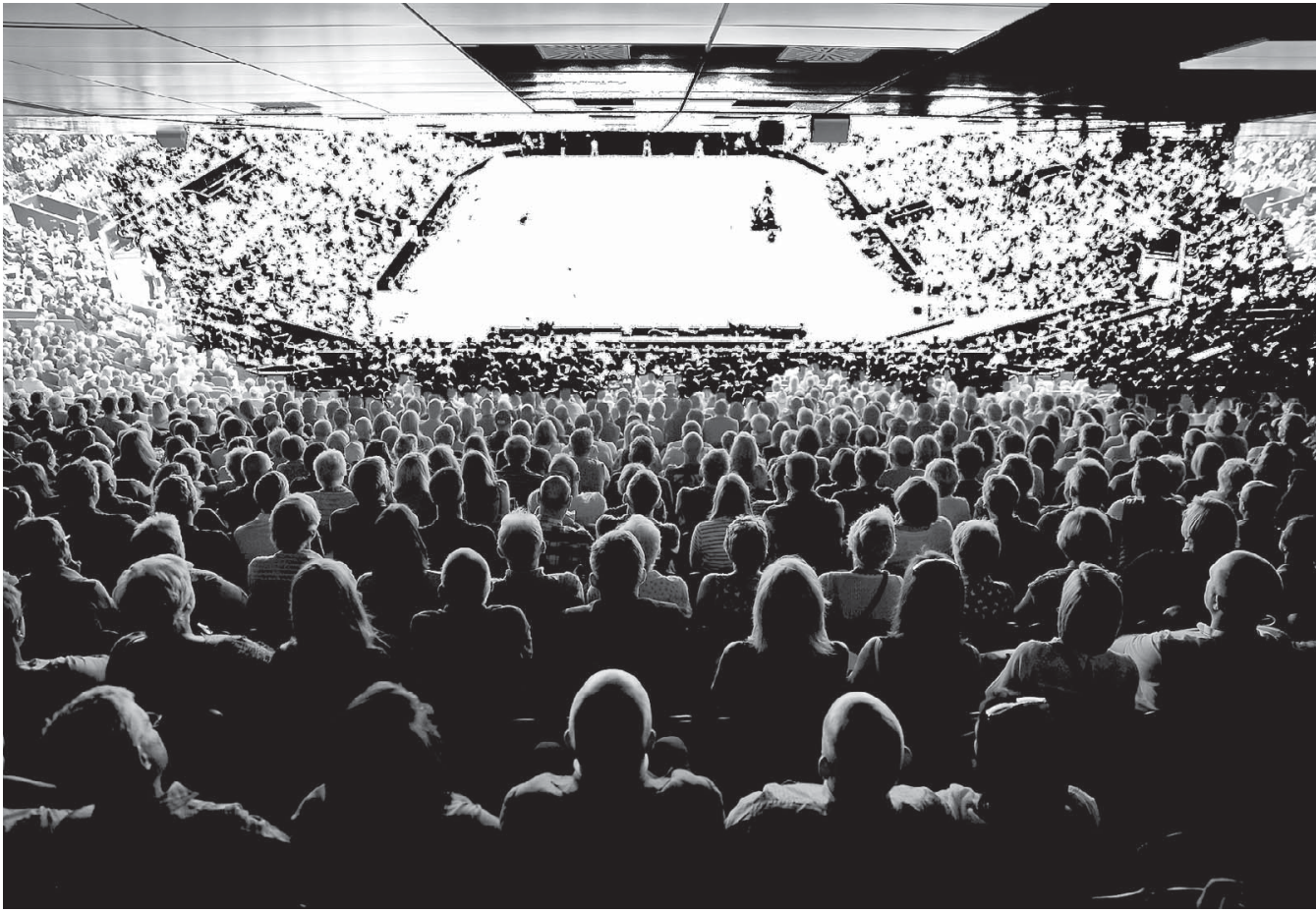
“I just considered that they were cheering for you and it was their way of saying, ‘I’m sorry,’” she said. “But you hated hearing it twice in a row.”

Jo Durie, the top-ranked British woman for much of a career that spanned from 1977 to 1995, won the mixed doubles title once at Wimbledon. Durie, now a commentator with Eurosport, said the groan was tough to cope with. Especially when things are going wrong in a match, she said, “you’d like a little bit of a lift from the crowd, not to hear that sigh, or tutting.”

Mark Petchey, the British No. 1 for a time in the 1990s, who was Murray’s first coach as a professional, said, “You can kind of smile about it now, but it definitely erodes your self-confidence at times when you hear that noise.”

He added that the groan “magnified by 10 that it was a terrible shot.” It was difficult to block out, and, Petchey said, “I heard it a lot.”

“I guess certain players out there have



TOM JENKINS/GETTY IMAGES

Centre Court at Wimbledon last year. Silence prevails at the championship, meaning that a collective groan from the crowd is all the more audible.

## A sports psychologist’s take: ‘Mate, everyone just wants you to win.’

different perspectives and can probably say: ‘Well, you guys don’t know what you’re talking about, so it wasn’t such a bad miss,” he said. “I was unfortunately on the other side and thought: ‘Yeah, yeah, you guys were spot on. That was shocking.’”

Durie, Petchey and Maclagan stressed

that the Wimbledon crowd was generally a big help for home players, always encouraging and usually desperate for them to do well. Cash, once he had figured it out, felt the same.

He said his sports psychologist had told him, “Mate, everyone just wants you to win.”

“And I was like: ‘Oh, that’s a good point as well. I feel better about that now.’”

Current players also struggle. Switzerland’s Belinda Bencic, a former junior Wimbledon champion who was ranked inside the world’s top 10 just 18 months ago before suffering wrist inju-

ries, said she experienced it a lot.

“They do it a lot because I double-fault a lot,” she said. “That’s horrible, and you’re like, ‘Oh, yeah, you do it yourself, right?’ But also it’s nice when you hit a huge winner and everyone goes crazy.”

Stan Wawrinka said he tried to see it as a positive thing.

“It’s actually nice to see that the crowd is really into the match,” he said. “Of course you are not happy at all after making an easy mistake, but it’s not the crowd’s fault.

“I think that tennis crowds in general are very respectful,” he continued. “We

have great fans in our sport. We all make mistakes, and when it looks easy, people can be surprised. Haven’t we all done the same in front of our TV screens?”

For those with hopes of winning the title, the groan may be something that happens to other people, said Greg Rusedski, a former British No. 1 who is a Eurosport commentator.

“If you look at Roger, I don’t think he ever gets groaned at,” Rusedski said, referring to the seven-time Wimbledon champion Roger Federer. “He probably hits the most beautiful double fault anyway, so they still clap.”

BOXING



CHRIS HYDE/GETTY IMAGES

Jeff Horn, left, battered Manny Pacquiao early and then withstood a comeback to win before his hometown crowd.

## Pacquiao Loses Title in Challenger’s Backyard

BRISBANE, Australia (AP) — It went all the way and ended in a contentiously bitter loss, the opposite of the outcome Manny Pacquiao’s handlers predicted for his World Boxing Organization welterweight title fight against Jeff Horn.

Pacquiao’s longtime trainer, Freddie Roach, predicted a “short and sweet” knockout win for Pacquiao, the 11-time world champion, in Sunday’s so-called Battle of Brisbane, but Horn won a unanimous decision in his first world title fight, delighting the crowd of 51,052 — a record for Australian boxing — at his hometown Suncorp Stadium.

Pacquiao, a 38-year-old Philippines senator, arrived in Brisbane a week before the fight with a chartered plane carrying more than a hundred supporters. He was favored to beat Horn but will leave without the W.B.O. belt.

All three judges awarded the bout to Horn, with Waleska Roldan scoring it 117-111 and Chris Flores and Ramon Cerdan both scoring it 115-113.

Some critics slammed the outcome as a hometown decision, noting that Pacquiao had landed twice the number of power punches that Horn did.

“That’s the decision of the judges; I respect that,” Pacquiao was quoted as saying by ESPN. “We have a rematch clause, so no problem.”

But Pacquiao’s conditioning trainer, the former Australian heavyweight Justin Fortune, was critical of the referee and the judging.

“Manny lost the fight, but Jeff Horn looks like a pumpkin,” Fortune said. “Those scores, that card? It should be the other way.”

But Fortune also said that Pacquiao should have left no doubt about the result.

“When you come into someone’s backyard, you need to really do a number on them or knock them out,” he said. “That’s boxing.” He added, “Never leave it in the judges’ hands.”

Horn, 29, a former teacher, started strong and won at least three of the first five rounds on all three of the judges’ cards. After twice needing treatment for a bleeding cut on top of his head in the sixth and seventh rounds, Pacquiao appeared to dominate from the eighth round on.

He was close to finishing it in the ninth when he pounded Horn and had him wobbling — the referee, Mark Nelson, asked Horn’s camp before the 10th if he could continue — and could also have come out with the victory.

A spokesman said Pacquiao was dealing with head cuts and could not attend the postfight news conference. Pacquiao also declined to be interviewed in his dressing room.

Horn said he had been confident that he was ahead on points, and said he was startled after the ninth when the referee asked if he was able to continue.

“I felt buzzed for sure, but I’m the Hornet — I’ve got to come back,” Horn said. “I’m not a quitter. Australians aren’t quit-

ters to start with. We’ve showed we’re winners.

“It was the Battle of Brisbane, that’s for sure. Absolutely unbelievable.”

The fight’s co-promoter, Bob Arum, said the result was close and “could have gone either way” late in the bout as both fighters looked for a decisive blow.

“A couple of close rounds,” Arum said, “but you can’t argue with the result.”

Arum said he scored many of the early rounds for Horn, then the middle rounds for Pacquiao.

“The 12th round, Jeff really won,” Arum said. “If you give Manny the 11th, you have it a draw. You give Jeff the 11th, it’s 7-5.”

Roach said earlier in the week that he would consider advising Pacquiao to retire if he lost the fight, but afterward they were already considering a rematch.

Horn was not surprised.

“I’m sure he’ll want to come back,” Horn said. “It was a close decision, and I’m sure he’ll want to come back and prove himself.”

Pacquiao’s camp had talked about a rematch with Floyd Mayweather Jr. if he made it past Horn, hoping to avenge his loss on points in their 2015 fight. That seems unlikely now.

Pacquiao entered the fight with a 59-6-2 record, but the most recent of his 38 wins by knockout was in 2009. Horn had not lost any of his previous 17 professional fights, but he had never encountered a fighter of Pacquiao’s credentials.

CYCLING TOUR DE FRANCE

## Banner Day for Germany As Tour Moves to Belgium

LIÈGE, Belgium (AP) — The thriving state of German cycling stood in sharp contrast with the sport’s dirty past during the second stage of the Tour de France on Sunday.

As Marcel Kittel rode toward a commanding sprint victory to conclude a leg that began before large crowds in Düsseldorf, Germany, the disgraced 1997 champion, Jan Ullrich, stood by the road as an uninvited spectator.

“It makes me really, really proud to see that this sport is now well accepted again in my home country,” Kittel said. “There was definitely a time where not so many spectators were standing next to the road,” he said referring to doping scandals that had hurt the sport in Germany.

Without any teammates in the final 500 yards of a mostly flat stage concluding in Liège, Belgium, Kittel wisely stayed on his rivals’ wheels before bursting ahead at the final moment for his 10th career stage win in the Tour.

The defending champion, Chris Froome, had to work to catch the main pack after falling in a mass crash on a wet corner. But Froome’s Sky Team teammate Geraint Thomas held on to the leader’s yellow jersey.

Having won the opening time trial Saturday, Thomas remained five seconds ahead of Stefan Küng in the overall standings. With a 10-second bonus, Kittel moved up to third, six seconds behind Thomas. Froome is sixth, 12 seconds behind.

“It was stressful. You kind of forget what the Tour is like,” Thomas said. “The weather didn’t help things at all.”

In the sprint, Arnaud Démare of France finished second, and André Greipel of Germany crossed third in a banner day for Germany.

A day like this would have been unthinkable just a few years ago, when German TV stopped broadcasting the Tour because of a series of doping scandals.



BENOÎT TESSIER/REUTERS

Marcel Kittel of Germany won the Tour de France’s second stage on Sunday and climbed to third place over all. It was his 10th stage victory in the event.



SOCCER

Germany Wins Its First Confederations Cup

ST. PETERSBURG, Russia (Reuters) — Germany capitalized on an awful mistake and survived a whirlwind assault by Chile to claim a 1-0 victory in a pulsating, bad-tempered Confederations Cup final on Sunday.

Germany, which won the title for the first time, got the only goal of the game from Lars Stindl in the 20th minute when Chile midfielder Marcelo Díaz gave the ball away on the edge of his own penalty area.

“I’m immensely proud of this team, because they have been together for only three and half weeks,” Germany’s coach, Joachim Löw, said.

Löw brought a young, experimental team to the competition, leaving behind players such as Manuel Neuer, Jérôme Boateng, Sami Khedira, Toni

Kroos and Thomas Müller. The average age of the German team at the Confederations Cup was just over 24, compared with an average of over 30 for Chile.

“The fact that these young

*Chile’s blunder leads to an easy goal and a hard-fought victory.*

players have won this tournament makes it an historic achievement,” Löw said. “It’s unique in Germany’s history, it’s outstanding.”

Chile, playing with its usual

high-octane style and driven forward by another relentless performance by Arturo Vidal, dominated the match but was let down by poor finishing.

The game featured missed chances, defensive miscues, scuffles and two video reviews, including one that produced a controversial decision in the second half.

Chile defender Gonzalo Jara elbowed Timo Werner by the sideline and the Serbian referee Milorad Mazic, alerted by the video assistants, let Jara off with a yellow card instead of a red. Shortly afterward, Mazic turned down Chile’s appeals for a penalty and stood by his decision after another review — and booked Chile’s Eduardo Vargas for drawing an imaginary television screen.

It was a remarkable achievement for Germany to lift the tro-

phy with such a relatively inexperienced squad, although it could also be a bad omen: No team has won the World Cup after winning the Confederations Cup the year before.

Alexis Sanchez had a golden opportunity to put Chile in front early, but he shot wide from close range after German goalkeeper Marc-André ter Stegen parried a shot by Vidal.

Germany struck almost immediately after when Díaz, turning away from Stindl on the edge of his penalty area, lost the ball to Werner, who drew the attention of Chile goalkeeper Claudio Bravo and slipped the ball across to Stindl for an easy tap-in.

Chile kept missing chances and nearly gave Germany another goal before halftime when Jara lost the ball on defense, but Bravo



IVAN SEKRETAREV/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The German squad spent just a few weeks preparing for the Confederations Cup and left more experienced players home.

saved Leon Goretzka’s shot.

In the third-place match in Moscow, Portugal fought back from a one-goal deficit to beat Mexico, 2-1, in extra time.

Facing defeat at the end of the 90 minutes, Portugal sent the game into extra time with Pepe’s volley. Adrien Silva won the game with a penalty kick in the 104th minute after Miguel Layún’s handball.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY EARL WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Xolos Academy F.C. New Jersey, a soccer academy affiliated with the Mexican first-division team Club Tijuana, has transformed a warehouse into a synthetic-turf field.

Academies Reach Across Border to Nurture Young Talent

From First Sports Page

finding and cultivating as many of them as possible is not only in the players’ interests but in U.S. Soccer’s.

“The more clubs that are out there and the more people we have catering to every type of market, in particular the Latino market, that’s a positive for our game,” Ramos said.

As the raindrops fell harder on a recent Saturday visit, DiMauro sat comfortably inside the converted warehouse, sipping coffee from behind a small desk as he watched some of his recruits run through a series of warm-up drills to the tune of Elvis Crespo’s “Suavemente.”

“We’re looking for talent in corners and places that other academies do not care to look,” DiMauro said. “We spent years training kids in the local ‘La Ligas’ for little or no money to develop them as organized soccer players, and now many of them are returning to us knowing they can compete on a bigger and much more affordable stage.”

DiMauro reached into a drawer and pulled out a brown paper bag filled with crumpled singles and five-dollar bills and a handful of quarters, about \$540 in tips, representing the cost of about one registration fee.

“This is someone’s hard-earned tips, the kind of payment we get from many of our parents, some of

whom are waiters, dishwashers and day laborers and do not speak English,” he said. “They are hard-working people who hope we can help their children, through soccer, to a better way of life.”

Amando Moreno, a 21-year-old forward with Club Tijuana, is a player from this area who managed to escape the shadows. Moreno, who grew up in Old Bridge, N.J., and played at the academy, left nearby Marlboro High after three years to sign a professional contract with the Red Bulls at age 17. He joined Club Tijuana the next year, making mostly domestic cup appearances with the club, and made his Liga MX debut in April 2016.

“As a kid who grew up in a poor family, it was embarrassing for me to hear my dad tell my coaches that he couldn’t afford to pay for my training, or that he wasn’t able to get me to a game because we had no car to get there,” said Moreno, who was once trained by DiMauro and later played for Ramos on the under-20 national team.

“I know exactly what some of these kids are going through,” he said. “I have lived their lives.”

Ramos, a midfielder who played 81 times for the United States in a Hall of Fame career, including World Cup appearances in 1990, ’94 and ’98, noted that while New Jersey has three well-established development academies — the Red Bulls Academy in East Hanover, the Players Development Academy in Somerset and the Cedar Stars Academy in Tinton Falls — there was a definite role to be played in assessment and evaluation of talent by a newer entry like the Xolos.

“Each of our three academies start from the top down,” Ramos



The academy offers an opportunity for children who might otherwise fall through the cracks of American soccer.

said. “But smaller clubs like this Xolos Academy can step in and identify talent from the bottom up, as early as ages 5 and 6, and then hopefully by the time those same players are 10 or 11, they can move on to bigger academies that could provide them with national competition.”

Ramos added that the biggest problem faced by the three development academies was not so much subsidizing the training of financially struggling players, but rather providing transportation for those players in the state who couldn’t afford to travel longer distances to practices and games.

“These academies cannot afford to buy a van or hire a bus to accommodate so many players spread out over large areas,” he said. “This makes the smaller

academies working with more local players a lot more important.”

DiMauro said members of his coaching staff arranged car pools to practices and games for many of their 80 players, who range in age from 8 to 18. The club has also established an outdoor practice site at a field in South River, closer to where a large number of his Hispanic players reside.

One of those players is Xavier Tapia, a 12-year-old defender who is among the 80 percent of Hispanics from a dozen Latin American countries making up the New Jersey Xolos rosters. (The rest of the players are white, often middle-class residents from the surrounding cities and towns.)

Before a recent morning workout, Tapia pointed high in the direction of two action posters of

Moreno hanging on a wall of the facility. “My dream is to make it to the pros like he did,” Tapia said.

Moreno returned home last month to visit family and friends after Tijuana was eliminated in the Mexican league playoffs. He made a stop at the Xolos training center to say hello to DiMauro and his son, Phil, a trainer and coach

Helping children, ‘through soccer, to a better way of life.’

who helps run the academy.

“I wish there was a place like this when I was growing up,” Moreno said as he walked beneath a large mural depicting an actual Xolo, a hairless breed of dog that serves as Tijuana’s team logo, alongside a pit bull that is the logo of its New Jersey cousin.

“I guess the players here see me as an inspiration,” Moreno said. “They look at me and think, ‘If he can do it, I can do it.’”

Moreno helped forge the relationship between DiMauro and the Xolos of Mexico. Now both organizations are hoping to reap the benefits of a nearly 3,000-mile-long pipeline that connects Tijuana, one of the world’s busiest border cities, to Cliffwood, once part of a Dutch shipping settlement.

“Believe me, there are top-notch players from this area who are just waiting to be discovered,” Moreno said. “All they need is a chance to be seen, and an opportunity to prove themselves.”

CALENDAR

TV Highlights

Baseball	2:00 p.m.	Baltimore at Milwaukee	MLB
	6:00 p.m.	Mets at Washington	SNY
	7:00 p.m.	Toronto at Yankees	YES
	8:00 p.m.	Boston at Texas	ESPN
	11:00 p.m.	Kansas City at Seattle (in prog.)	MLB
Cycling	8:00 a.m.	Tour de France, Stage 3	NBCSN
Tennis	7:00 a.m.	Wimbledon, first round	ESPN

This Week

HOME AWAY	MON 7/3	TUE 7/4	WED 7/5	THU 7/6	FRI 7/7	SAT 7/8	SUN 7/9	
METS	WASHINGTON 6 p.m. SNY	WASHINGTON 11 a.m. SNY	WASHINGTON 7 p.m. SNY		ST. LOUIS 8 p.m. SNY	ST. LOUIS 4 p.m. SNY	ST. LOUIS 2 p.m. SNY	
YANKEES	TORONTO 7 p.m. YES	TORONTO 1 p.m. YES	TORONTO 1 p.m. YES		MILWAUKEE 7 p.m. YES	MILWAUKEE 1 p.m. YES	MILWAUKEE 1 p.m. YES	
LIBERTY				SEATTLE 10 p.m. MSG			PHOENIX 6 p.m. MSG	
VANCOUVER N.Y.C.F.C. 10:00 P.M. WEDNESDAY				YES	NEW ENGLAND RED BULLS 7:30 P.M. WEDNESDAY			MSG